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# American SOCILOGICAL Review

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Volume 16  
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## INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN BOLSHEVIK IDEOLOGY AND THE STRUCTURE OF SOVIET SOCIETY\*

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I

SOCIAL structure, reinforced by inherited traditions, affects personality development and determines the formation and the circulation of political elites; these in turn, develop attitudes and ideologies which provoke changes in the structure. In terms of such propositions it becomes possible to appraise the alternatives of future structural and ideological changes which might provide a basis for social control. Soviet society, because of its planned and total social regimentation, offers valuable material for such studies.<sup>1</sup>

In the course of the nineteenth century, the Russian radical intelligentsia, recruited mainly from among the impoverished and déclassée nobility and lower middle classes (*raznochintsi*), sought to overthrow Czardom and to seize power for themselves at any cost. Anarchism, Marxism and other revolutionary ideologies borrowed from the West and molded to suit Russian traditions and *raznochintsi* psychology were employed as

an instrument to this end. In underground warfare with a ruthless police and a venal and inefficient bureaucracy these power-seeking young people justified not only terror and armed uprising but also cunning, lies, ruse, robbery, assassination, any and all means in order to achieve their goal.<sup>2</sup> Such methods were used not only against the Czarist government which was considered their "mortal enemy," but even against their own followers should these in any way obstruct the policies of the movement or of its dominant faction.<sup>3</sup> Hence, early in the language and in the behavior of Bolsheviks as in those of Russian Nihilists and Anarchists there was a strong emphasis on hatred and contempt, irreconcilability, relentlessness and mercilessness, guile and deceit.<sup>4</sup> In

\* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society held in Denver, September 7-9, 1950.

<sup>1</sup> See on this point R. S. Lynd, "Planned Social Solidarity in the Soviet Union," *American Journal of Sociology*, 5 (Nov. 1945), 185.

<sup>2</sup> See P. Kropotkin, *Anarchist Morality*, London: Freedom Press, pp. 21-23. See also Bakunin-Nechaeve's *Catechism of Revolution*, English text in R. Pain, *Zero*, New York, 1950, pp. 7-14; Russian text in *Borba Klasov*, Leningrad, 1924, No. 1-2, pp. 262-273.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Jan Kucharzewski, *The Origins of Modern Russia*, New York, 1948, pp. 441 ff. Also T. G. Masaryk, *The Spirit of Russia*, New York, 1919, pp. 430 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See, for instance, Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. III, pp. 486-498; also Bertrand Wolfe, *Three Who Made A Revolution*, New York, 1948, pp. 89, 95, 355-356, 371 ff.

Lenin's words in a "life and death" struggle there could not be any choice of means. The only important question was "who will get whom first" (*kto kogo*).

Like the Anarchists before him, Lenin made a clear distinction between the leadership and the masses and insisted upon a dictatorial and military-like party organization led by a closely knit elite of "professional revolutionaries." He wanted a "centralized" and "ideologically unified" party whose top hierarchy would rely on a wide "network of agents" and would be followed by a devoted proletariat.<sup>5</sup> In the chaotic days which resulted from the defeat of the Czarist armies and the abdication of the Czar in 1917, the political organization and strategy of the Bolsheviks had an advantage over that of their opponents who were split into many parties and factions bitterly fighting among themselves over programs and policies. In these circumstances the Bolsheviks, appealing to the extreme demands of all the dissatisfied strata and groups, were enabled to seize power and also to win in the civil war which followed.

The seizure of power and the victorious civil war did not change the mentality and the practices of the Bolshevik leaders. After they had finally secured for themselves the long coveted objective, they did not cherish it less. Their main aim was now to eternalize their gains. Reacting to the insecurities of newly acquired power which they were determined to maintain at all cost, they became increasingly preoccupied with it. Hence, contrary to the earlier promises that the state will tend to "wither away" after the toilers have seized power, the Bolsheviks asserted that "after the proletariat has grasped power the class struggle does not cease." On the contrary, they said, "the class struggle continues in new forms, and with ever greater frenzy and ferocity," because the resistance of the exploiters to the fact of socialism is now even "more savage than before."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, pp. 21-22, 138-139. See also *History of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks)*, Moscow, 1945, pp. 31-34.

<sup>6</sup> A. Vyshinsky, *The Law of the Soviet State*, New York, 1948, p. 39.

This contention was supported by another still more significant. The internal counter-revolutionary schemes of the remnants of the dying classes were said to be fostered by the capitalist states which wanted to encircle and to destroy the Soviets.<sup>7</sup> Under such conditions, the Bolsheviks asserted that the state not only would not "wither away," but it must become even "more powerful." Fortified by such "rationalizations" the ruling faction proceeded to adopt all means which were deemed necessary for the perpetuation of their power:

... when the Soviet Marxist revolution occurs in only one country, and capitalism reigns in all other countries, then the country where the revolution triumphed must not weaken, but must do its utmost to strengthen the state, its state organs, its intelligence organs and the army, if this country does not want to be crushed by capitalist encirclement.<sup>8</sup>

Thus seeking for themselves the exclusive monopoly of all social power, the Bolsheviks proceeded to "strengthen the state" not only by police rule and military preparedness but also by means of rigid economic regimentation and planning. By the use of force, ruse, and other pressures the peasants were collectivized and bound to the land. Millions who resisted were deported, many were massacred.<sup>9</sup> Then in speeding up the industrial expansion, priority was given to industries directly related to war potential, while the production of consumption goods was kept at a minimum. And when the productivity of labor failed to keep up with preconceived plans, the principle of equality of wages (*uravnilovka*) was proclaimed to be "unworthy of socialism" and instead piece-wage system was introduced. The old Communist motto: "To each according to his need" was replaced by the maxim: "To each according to his work."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> History of the Communist Party, *op. cit.*, p. 274. See also Stalin, *Mastering Bolshevism*, New York, 1937, pp. 11, 13, 26, and Lenin, *Sochinenia*, 3rd ed., Vol. XXVII, p. 117.

<sup>8</sup> Stalin in *Bolshevik*, August 1, 1950.

<sup>9</sup> See on this point Stalin's statement to Churchill in Churchill's memoirs. *The New York Times*, October 30, 1950, p. 29.

<sup>10</sup> *Constitution of U.S.S.R.*, Article 12.

The earlier socialist idea of freedom in the choice of work and equality of opportunity was discarded and replaced by the contention that the socialist objective of high output demands specialization and "habit of work" (*navyk truda*) as essential elements in the process of production and that these could best develop if freedom in the choice of skill and of place of work is restricted and controlled.<sup>11</sup> Hence, it was argued the government had the right to force each subject to work according to the needs of the state (as determined by the ruling Party), and it was decreed that "He who does not work, neither shall he eat."<sup>12</sup>

As a result of such policies a seven-day week and a longer working day were established together with severe penalties for tardiness and absence from work and increasing obstacles to shift or transfer. Then came the Stakhanovite movement designed to build up dwindling labor morale. When that failed, the "norm system," *edinonachal'ie* principle (one-man factory management), and increasing use of labor unions as instruments of labor-driving followed, all of which led to the chaining of industrial laborers to their machines and of office workers to their desks in the same manner as the peasants were earlier tied to the land.<sup>13</sup> Such measures were sometimes openly resisted, but owing to the increasing efficiency and ruthlessness of the Soviet police a more widely spread reaction against regimentation of labor took on the form of passive resistance. Frequent reenactment of measures to improve "labor discipline," to develop "habit of work," and to limit labor turnover; conscription of 14–17 year old boys for "labor reserves," increasing pressure to obtain the labor of women; frequency of trials and dismissals of man-

agers; severity of punishment for mistakes in production and constant complaints of Soviet press and of Bolshevik leaders against the "remnants of bourgeois mentality" among the workers, all support the claims of many observers of Soviet society that agricultural as well as industrial labor developed an apathy toward the Soviet system and a mechanical, robot-like attitude toward work.<sup>14</sup> A growing need was therefore felt for labor drivers, organizers, overseers and exhorters<sup>15</sup> to shake the toilers from their lethargy and to increase quality and quantity of production.

In such conditions the ruling Bolshevik class, as a means of survival, had to rely increasingly on zealous devotees and self-seeking careerists even if these were not professionally competent, as long as they were trusted by the Party and willing to agitate for its interests and to use extreme ruthlessness if necessary in dealing with the "slackers," "saboteurs," and "spies," that is, all those who did not maintain "labor discipline" and did not produce according to the decreed quotas ("norms"). And since it is upon these people that the ruling hierarchy had to depend as its main instruments of control, they had to be recruited into the Party and rewarded for their services to the regime in higher income, in social privileges and power, as well as in priorities in food, housing, social services, and other perquisites, which are of special value in an economy of scarcity of consumption goods. In this way a privileged ruling class of specialists in violence, vigilance, organization and propaganda was formed.

<sup>14</sup> This is corroborated by a number of interviews conducted by the author with Russian non-returners. Compare M. Fainsod, *op. cit.*; also N. Jasny, *Socialized Agriculture of the U.S.S.R.*, Stanford, 1949; Bienstock, Schwarz, and Yugow, *Management in Russian Industry and Agriculture*, New York, 1944; and D. Dallin. *The Real Soviet Russia*, New Haven, 1945.

<sup>15</sup> Compare Alexander Vucinich, "The Structure of Factory Control in the Soviet Union," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (May, 1950), 181–183; Alexander Baykov, *The Development of the Soviet Economic System*, New York, 1947; and Hubbard, *op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> L. I. Berry, "K voprosu o razdelenii truda v sotsialisticheskem obshchestve," *Izvestia Akademii Nauk SSSR*, No. 3, 1947, pp. 155–172.

<sup>12</sup> *Constitution of the U.S.S.R.*, Article 12.

<sup>13</sup> See Merle Fainsod, "Controls and Tensions in Soviet System," *The American Political Science Review*, June 1950, p. 274. See also Harry Schwartz, "Soviet Labor Policy," *Annals*, May 1949, pp. 73–84; and L. E. Hubbard, *Soviet Labour and Industry*, London, 1942.

In such a system, the institutions of violence, of vigilance and of propaganda, the checking and counter-checking agencies tend to take precedence and to weigh heavily on the productive intellectual and economic endeavors. The semi-educated politicians, conspirators, and agitators have the way open to push toward the top of the Party-State levels where by jockeying for positions and power, they create a tense atmosphere of suspicion and fear.<sup>16</sup> At the same time the Party, in order to maintain ideological purity, rigid discipline, and *esprit de corps* must be limited to a small membership, which is thus being increasingly recruited from among the official classes.<sup>17</sup> In this manner, the Party which was conceived as the "vanguard of the working people" which effectively "guides" a devoted proletariat<sup>18</sup> was bound to lose its intimate contact with the masses.

## II

The most fundamental problem that faces the ruling Bolshevik hierarchy is how to keep under control this potentially explosive system of economic scarcity, social regimentation, class privilege, fear and coercion. Since in the Soviet political structure the Party is the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state,<sup>19</sup> the primary concern of the ruling Party faction is centered on training the leading personnel of the Party. "Cadres decide everything," said Stalin. Therefore these people must be thoroughly indoctrinated and must unconditionally follow the decisions and instructions of the top Party hierarchy whatever they may be. The ruling Bolshevik faction justifies this policy by claiming that they have mastered Marxist

Leninist theory and therefore know the truth. They assert that Marxist-Leninist theory enables the Party to find the right orientation in any situation, to understand the inner connection of current events, to foresee their course, and perceive not only how and in what direction they are developing in the present, but how and in what direction they are bound to develop in the future.<sup>20</sup>

Since historical conditions are constantly changing, the Bolshevik leaders rationalize that the Party must learn how to distinguish between the letter and the substance of Marxism-Leninism and how to "advance it" by replacing its "antiquated" propositions and conclusions by "new ones corresponding to new historical situations."<sup>21</sup> But this power of interpreting and advancing Marxism-Leninism is monopolized by the top Party leadership:

It may be said without fear of exaggeration that since the death of Engels, the master theoretician Lenin, and after Lenin, Stalin and other disciples of Lenin, have been the only Marxists who have advanced the Marxist theory and who have enriched it with new experience in the new conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat.<sup>22</sup>

In this manner the Kremlin justifies its determination not only to regiment the Party but also to force all subjects to conform to the Party wishes. Deviating from the earlier Marxian concept of historical materialism and determinism, the ruling faction of the Bolsheviks considers itself empowered to control the "matter" and the environment in such a way as to produce a new generation of men to suit its pre-determined plans. "We make tractors, but we also want to make new men," they say. It was in accordance with such objectives of creating a "new type of man" that the Party endorsed Michurin-Lysenko theory which offers the possibility of hereditary control of both plants and of living beings. For the same reason the Party encouraged Pavlov's experiments in physiology which

<sup>16</sup> See Merle Fainsod, *op. cit.*, pp. 274 ff.

<sup>17</sup> See, for instance, figures on the Party structure in *Pravda*, Jan. 22, 1947. See also Merle Fainsod, "Postwar Role of the Communist Party," *Annals*, May 1944, pp. 20-32; and J. Towster, *Political Power in the U.S.S.R.*, New York, 1948, p. 328.

<sup>18</sup> J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow, 1947, pp. 140 ff.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *History*, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 355-356.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 358.

enhanced the hopes that the study of animal brain might lead to the control of human mind.<sup>23</sup>

In accordance with such plans all means of mass communication had to be firmly concentrated in the hands of the Party and all intellectual activities had to be directed into political channels. Not only the press, radio, public organizations, and military barracks, but also schools, scientific institutes, academies,<sup>24</sup> and courts of law<sup>25</sup> became instruments of Party power and agencies of Party propaganda.<sup>26</sup> In his interview with H. G. Wells, Stalin said: "Education is a weapon, whose effect depends on who holds it in his hand and whom it will strike." And Lenin said that the Party must use the state and its institutions as a "machine of suppression."<sup>27</sup> It was because of this need for Party control and for thorough indoctrination of the educated classes that the earlier policy of recruiting university students primarily from the industrial class (*rabochie*) and the peasantry (*krestiane*) had to be reversed and all higher professional training reserved in the first place for Party members and candidates and for the sons and daughters of the official classes (*sluzhashchie*). Introduction of educational fees, preferential distribution of stipends, conscription of peasant and working-class youths for labor reserves, and sharp class differences in income which make higher schooling for lower classes prohibitive, all serve to limit social mobility and to favor caste-like stratification.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>23</sup> See on this point the recent Soviet film on Pavlov. It is along the same line of thought that the Soviet leaders have allegedly recently promoted experiments in "mind-reading" by means of radioactive beams. See on this point the statement of Jacques Nicoll, member of College of France, at a recent meeting of "Peace Fighters" in East Berlin, Reuter Dispatch, August 9, 1950.

<sup>24</sup> See speeches of the members of the Academy of Sciences of U.S.S.R. concerning the situation in biological science, *Pravda*, August 4 to 11, 1948.

<sup>25</sup> A. Vyshinsky, *op. cit.*

<sup>26</sup> See on this question G. S. Counts and N. Lodge, *The Country of the Blind*, Boston, 1949.

<sup>27</sup> Lenin, *Sochinenia*, Vol. XXI, pp. 431-432.

<sup>28</sup> Compare A. Inkeles, "Social Stratification and

In the meantime, however, the ruling circles of the Bolshevik Party grew well aware that a thwarting of creative thought and of intellectual initiative and a lagging of basic research and of applied science was taking place because of the lack of free discussion. At the same time plans of large scale industrialization and military preparedness in competition with the industrially advanced West had to be constantly fed with new ideas, discoveries and inventions. When these were not produced at home they had to be acquired from abroad either by purchase or by intelligence. The Bolsheviks, however, could not allow any such academic freedom which might eventually challenge their monopoly on truth and knowledge and therefore undermine their power. As a way out from such an impasse they introduced a system of "self-criticism" that became known as *samokritika*.

The original function of *samokritika* was intended to stimulate creative thinking, socialist initiative and competition, and to foster positive attitude and enthusiasm toward the regime and its plans. Yet in a rank-conscious and spy-ridden society controlled by ambitious careerists and zealous watchdogs, "self-criticism" easily becomes another instrument of vigilance and regimentation. It becomes another means of self-advancement in a perpetual struggle and jockeying for higher positions and power that can often be reached only on the cadavers of one's associates.<sup>29</sup> But since the Soviet regime of privations and strict conformity and its rigid system of superordination and subordination produce intense tensions and stimulate mass dissatisfactions and aggressions, the ruling hierarchy employs *samokritika* also to manipulate internal conflicts and hostilities and direct

Mobility in the Soviet Union, 1940-1950," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (August, 1950), 465-479.

<sup>29</sup> Many observers of Soviet society and the interviews with non-returns agree on this point. See, for instance, Edmund Stevens, "This Is Russia—Uncensored," *Christian Science Monitor*, October to December, 1949.

them away from the top rulers and against administrators, managers, engineers, supervisors, office employees and Party people located on the lower levels of the Party, state and industrial pyramids. It is these people together with a sprinkling from the higher brackets who conveniently serve as scapegoats. They are therefore periodically offered as sacrifice and "purged" or "liquidated." *Samokritika* serves occasionally to check the abuses of power, especially venality, misappropriation of public property, and nepotism but as a rule only on lower echelons.

The ruling faction resorted also to other means aimed at eliciting positive support for the regime and willing acceptance of many sacrifices which cannot be imposed upon the subjects by force and fear alone. These devices are aimed at promoting a feeling of unity and of common purpose, a belief in the goodness of the Soviet system, faith in Bolshevik leadership, and hopes in a bright future that would strengthen the morale of the Soviet people and enable them to "pull together" and to endure hardships even under most adverse circumstances. Following closely Russian traditional concepts of Father, of Czar, and of God, the Bolsheviks developed the image of a distant and strict but solicitous Leader (*Vozhd*) who has absolute power and is also omniscient and omnipresent. He is merciless to his foes and to those who disobey him, but is kind to those who pay obeisance to him and who show gratitude for his fatherly care (*otecheskaia zabota*). The Party Leader is pictured as infallible, prophetic, and invincible. He incarnates the aspirations of the world proletariat and is the hope of all the downtrodden and oppressed as well as of all the "progressive people" throughout the world. Owing to his wisdom and foresight, Soviet Socialism is already transforming itself into Soviet Communism in which the existing differences between peasant and industrial worker, between manual and intellectual labor will disappear. At the same time, however, the Soviet state will become even more powerful to serve as a base for Communist revolution and the inevitable

spread of Soviet power throughout the entire world.<sup>30</sup>

Legends, ritual and idolatry support this mythology and Utopia. Lenin, for instance, lies mummified in a mausoleum visited by thousands of worshippers and pilgrims daily. Throughout the country Lenin museums and "Lenin's Corners," not unlike earlier the churches and the icons, remind the faithful of Lenin's spirit which is said to be immortal (*bezsmertni*). Gigantic pictures and statues of Stalin ("Lenin of today") dominate all streets, roads, and other public places. Editorials and feature articles in the daily press, important scholarly publications as well as public pronouncements of top leaders invariably base their claims on Stalin's statements. Academic bodies hail Stalin as "corifeus of science" and the poets attribute miraculous powers to him.<sup>31</sup> His achievements are said to be so significant not only for Soviet society but also for the rest of the world that the time in which we live is to be known as *Stalinskaia Epoха*—the Stalin epoch. It is to this man that under the guidance of the Party the *kolhozniks*, the workers, and academicians, people from all walks of life and all parts of the Union write daily letters in which they thank him ardently (*goriache spasibo*) for what he has done for the well-being, happiness and world-power of the Soviet state.<sup>32</sup> And if they have not fulfilled their quotas, if they have failed or stayed behind, they promise to "spare no efforts" to improve, so that they may escape his just wrath.<sup>33</sup>

This craving for a protective Leader and feeling of dependence upon him is being

<sup>30</sup> See on this point *Pravda Vostoka*, May 18, 1949. See also VII Congress of the Communist International, *op. cit.*, p. 5; *Programme of the Communist International*, Part II, point 4, and Part III.

<sup>31</sup> See, for instance, *Pravda*, August 26, 1936 and May 23, 1935.

<sup>32</sup> See, for instance, the greeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Union to Stalin at the occasion of his birthday, *USSR Information Bulletin*, Washington, D. C., January 13, 1950.

<sup>33</sup> See, for instance, *Pravda*, January to December, 1947.

instilled early in the life of Soviet subjects. In nurseries tots are given toys on which it is inscribed: "Thank you, Comrade Stalin, for happy and joyful childhood." Young children are told tales in which Stalin is compared with the rising sun bringing prosperity and happiness to the whole country and the entire world. And later when a Soviet child enters school and becomes an Octobrist or a Pioneer he is taught:

We, the children of the Soviet Union, the happiest country in the world, feel the constant solicitude for us by the Party, the government, and our beloved leader, Comrade Stalin. Comrade Stalin is the best friend of us children, of all the children in the world. It is he who builds for us the best schools, palaces of culture, stadiums and camps, where we can become strong and healthy, so that we can study more and better in the winter time, when we go to school.<sup>34</sup>

The children are therefore urged to study and to imitate the life of the two deified leaders, Lenin and Stalin. They are urged to be inspired by them and to love them ("Remember, love, study Ilich [Lenin], our teacher, our leader.").<sup>35</sup> The Party's aim is to develop in children a conscience which will be possessed by the images of these men. To such a conscience the Party will always be able to appeal and to demand even supreme sacrifices. "We must do everything so that our life is what the unforgettable Ilich wanted it to be."<sup>36</sup> "In the soul of each of us there is one and only one image which governs all of us. This is the image of the great Stalin."<sup>37</sup>

However, such training in identification with the supreme Party leader did not seem to show sufficient progress among the laboring classes nor among the sophisticated groups of the intelligentsia. Therefore in order to bolster the morale of these classes, to strengthen their feeling of solidarity with the regime and their faith in the efficiency

of the Soviet society, and perhaps to compensate for feelings of inferiority which might develop in relationships of complete dependency, the ruling hierarchy undertook to stimulate ethnocentric feelings and to revive Russian nationalism. Both are deeply rooted in the traditions of Russian urban strata.

It was in this manner that official propaganda began to extol the Soviet economic, political, and social system, its democracy and its human relationships as being far ahead of anything known in these respects in any other society in the history of human kind. Soviet society is said to be able to provide employment, protection, and happiness for everyone; it is pictured as unsurpassable in its achievements; it is visioned as majestic (*velichaishii*), overpowering (*sverpobezhdaushchii*), limitless (*bezgranichnii*), legendary and epoch-making (*bogatirskii*, *epohalnii*), miraculous (*chudotvornyi*), and holy (*sviatii*). Contrary to the logic of dialectical materialism, it is said that the Soviet system is eternal (*vechnii*). Gigantic undertakings are planned to prove such contentions. Some of these prestige projects are said to be in the process of removing mountains, fertilizing deserts, changing the course of rivers, transforming dead matter into living cell. Also mass pageantry, huge demonstrations, and impressive military parades are frequently staged to foster the belief in Soviet might.

From the point of view of survival of Bolshevism, it is necessary also to strengthen the feeling of self-appreciation and confidence of the people in themselves and in their fellows as a means to enhance personal morale and group solidarity. The Bolshevik propaganda therefore endeavors to convince the Soviet subjects that people who grow in Soviet society and enjoy its benefits excel also in their personal qualities "head and shoulders" above the people in all other countries. It was such superior qualities, they say, that gave the Soviet peoples that "unsurpassable" moral and political unity which has enabled them to show "unmatched heroism" and "alone" to win in the Patriotic War against Germany and Japan and

<sup>34</sup> *Seventh Congress of the Communist International*, Abridged Stenographic Report, Moscow, 1939, pp. 10-11.

<sup>35</sup> Stalin in *Pravda*, January 21, 1947.

<sup>36</sup> *Izvestia*, January 21, 1947.

<sup>37</sup> *Izvestia*, January 7, 1947.

thus to "save the whole world from new barbarism."<sup>38</sup>

In order to foster specifically the morale of the Great Russians and to justify their dominant role in the Soviet Union, an attempt is made to propagate the belief in their moral and intellectual superiority above all other peoples of the Soviet Union and of the world. Following the "Third Rome" ideology of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Slavophil and Panslav ideologies of Russian nationalist intelligentsia of the nineteenth century, the Bolshevik leaders claim that the Great Russians "merit general recognition . . . as the leading power among all the peoples of our country . . . they have a clear mind, steadfast characters, and endurance,"<sup>39</sup> and Soviet historians and pedagogists assert that "the history of the Russian people proves to all mankind their political wisdom, their military values, and their genius."<sup>40</sup> As evidence of their ability, many of the basic inventions and discoveries, from the spinning wheel to the nuclear nature of the atom, are said to have been invented or discovered by the Great Russians but are "all wrongfully ascribed to Germans, Englishmen, Americans, and Italians."<sup>41</sup>

Since Great Russian control of non-Russian nationalities has often provoked dissatisfaction and mass rebellions and has led to resettlement and extermination of the whole recalcitrant populations, it is felt that only by Russifying the non-Russian parts of the Soviet Union and thus developing a common cultural basis will the feeling of unity, of common interests and of common objectives grow. It is in light of such circumstances that the earlier Marxian theory of linguistics had to be revised to suit the new situation. Russian language is

<sup>38</sup> *Izvestia*, January 7, 1947.

<sup>39</sup> Stalin, *The Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*, Moscow, 1944, p. 28.

<sup>40</sup> R. P. Yesipov and N. I. Goncharov in a textbook on pedagogy, translated in part by G. S. Counts and Nucia P. Lodge in *I Want to Be Like Stalin*, New York, 1948, p. 61. See also B. D. Grekov, *The Culture of Kiev Russ*, Moscow, 1947, pp. 143-144.

<sup>41</sup> VOKS Bulletin, 1949, No. 57, p. 36.

now looked upon not as a "super structure" destined to give way to a completely new language of socialism, but rather as a dominant language and an "instrument" of unification under Soviet rule.<sup>42</sup>

The Bolshevik leaders have also attempted to strengthen confidence in the supremacy of the Soviet system by emphasizing the inevitability of the collapse of the capitalist world. Building on anti-Latin and anti-Western traditions of the Orthodox Church and of Slavophilism, Bolshevik propaganda stresses the apocalyptic doom of the West in a not too distant future. It is to maintain such beliefs that all non-official contacts with the West are severed and a campaign is conducted against "cosmopolitanism," that is against all those who show any appreciation for the vitality of Western culture and of its political and economic system. On the other hand the writers who have excelled in depicting the West in an unfavorable light are rewarded with high cash prizes known as "Stalin Premiums."

But though the Bolsheviks predict the inevitable doom of the Western world and the spread of Soviet millennium over the whole earth, they also emphasize that "monopoly capitalism" and "Western imperialism" while nearing the point of final breakdown will resort to aggression and warfare against the Soviets in order to prolong their life.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, sooner or later "a series of the most frightful collisions between the Soviet republic and bourgeois states is inevitable."<sup>44</sup> Thus while the emphasis on the downfall of capitalism serves to discourage deviations and disloyalty to the Bolshevik regime, the idea of capitalist aggression is employed to direct hostilities generated by the Soviet system against the external enemies and thus to relieve internal tensions. Hence, both belief in the downfall of capitalism and fear of attack and in-

<sup>42</sup> See on this point J. Stalin, "Otnositelno Marksizma v iasikoznanii," *Pravda*, June 20, 1950.

<sup>43</sup> *Programme of the Communist International*, Parts I and II.

<sup>44</sup> Lenin, *Sochinenia*, 3rd ed., Vol. XXIV, pp. 122. Also Vol. XXVII, p. 117.

vasion must be constantly kept alive by means of propaganda.<sup>45</sup> The claim of the inevitability of war functions also as a justification for increasing security measures, for strategic expansion, for additional privations and sacrifices in favor of war preparedness. It serves especially as a justification for the militarization of many public activities in Soviet society. Militarization of all activities is considered by the Bolshevik leaders to be one of the best morale builders in a society in which the laboring masses have not yet sufficiently developed "habit of work" and tend to become apathetic and lethargic. Speaking of Bolshevik experiences in World War II Stalin said that "militarization transformed people;" that people acquired "new qualities" which strengthened Bolshevik power:

People pulled themselves together, abandoned sloppiness, became more disciplined, learned to work in a military fashion, grew aware of their duty to the Motherland.<sup>46</sup>

This trend of thought led early in the development of Soviet society to the demands of total militarization.<sup>47</sup> Besides a growing army and widespread voluntary military organizations (*Osoviakhim*), the Party, the factories, the farms, the offices as well as many public organizations have been militarized. Pre-conscription military training has been introduced into middle schools, and school subjects starting from elementary grades have been oriented towards military thinking. Beginning with kindergartens and grammar schools the school training emphasizes strict discipline, endurance of hardships, active support of Bolshevism and unconditional obedience to superiors.<sup>48</sup> In a variety of occupations workers and officials

have been organized into "detachments" and "brigades" led by "commanders" and shock troops (*udarniki*). They wear uniforms, exhibit insignia of their rank, are decorated with a growing number of medals and are awarded the titles of "heroes" and "heroines." All their activities are conceived in terms of "camps," "fronts," and "campaigns." Each man and woman is expected to die doing his or her duty at the "battlepost."

The Bolsheviks have also attempted to employ the family for the same purposes. Reversing their earlier policy of arousing antagonism between parents and children and of facilitating dissolution of family ties, the Bolsheviks now envision the role of the Soviet family, like that of the Soviet school, as a training ground in discipline, collective responsibility, group solidarity and efficiency, unconditional obedience to authorities, confidence in Bolshevik leadership, faith in Soviet System and its active support.<sup>49</sup> This new family policy is rationalized in Bolshevik ideology as "the cultural-educational influence of the socialist state upon family relationships in the direction of strengthening socialist principles."<sup>50</sup>

According to this "cultural-educational" philosophy the Party needs come before family interests. Therefore both the school and the Party organizations are employed to transfer family attachments and loyalties to the Party leadership. In Bolshevik teaching the Party is represented as the "Mother of the Soviet people"<sup>51</sup> and love for one's Mother Country (*Rodina*) is said to be conditioned by love for the Party Leader and the Party. It is emphasized that the "Party is above everything else"<sup>52</sup> which means that

<sup>45</sup> Compare a study of Soviet May Day slogans by S. Yakobson and H. D. Lasswell, in Lasswell and Leites, *Language of Politics*, New York, 1949, Ch. 10.

<sup>46</sup> Stalin, *The Great Patriotic War*, 1946, p. 58.

<sup>47</sup> See on this point M. V. Frunze, *Sobranie Sochinennii*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1927, pp. 242-244; also Capt. S. N. Kournakoff, *Russia's Fighting Forces*, New York, 1942, pp. 56 ff.

<sup>48</sup> Yesipov and Goncharov, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 49, 95, 101, 109, 112.

<sup>49</sup> Compare V. S. Tadevosian, *Prava i Obiazanosti Roditelei v Sovetskem Gosudarstve*, Moscow, 1947, pp. 21-22. See also G. M. Sverdlov, "Milestones in the Development of Soviet Family Law," *The American Review of the Soviet Union*, August, 1948, p. 12.

<sup>50</sup> G. M. Sverdlov, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>51</sup> *Bolshevik*, Sept. 18, 1943; *Pravda*, Dec. 1, 1945. See J. Towster, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

<sup>52</sup> George Dimitrov in his closing address to the *Seventh Congress of Communist International*, *op. cit.*

Party loyalty precedes not only family loyalty but national loyalty as well, a contention that forms the core of Soviet internationalism and the basis of its international appeal, not unlike the appeal of a universal church.

### III

It is questionable, however, if all these means of Bolshevik control are sufficient to counteract the tendencies which have a disruptive effect upon the stability of the Soviet social system and which tend to increase its psychological vulnerabilities. Already on the family level, for instance, there is occasion for frequent conflict between the requirements of the Party and those of the family. Since most children of school age belong also to auxiliary Party organizations (Octobrists, Pioneers, Komsomols) in which they are expected to help the Party "at all times,"<sup>53</sup> there is possibility of thwarting of family loyalties and of instability in attachments between the family and the Party.<sup>54</sup> And since the Soviet system of vigilance encourages family members to inform on each other there is opportunity for mutual suspicions, fears and intense hostilities within the family circle. Such a family environment is not favorable to the growth of humane feelings and training in self-confidence and trust, and is inimical to the development of emotional stability and of group solidarity.

On the other hand, the Soviet penal philosophy of implied culpability which has led to the principle of joint family responsibility and family hostages<sup>55</sup> together with the inclination of the Party to interfere in family affairs foster in many cases the tendency of the family members to withdraw within the family circle, to keep outside contacts to a safe minimum, and to strengthen the intimacies of the home.<sup>56</sup> It is in these

<sup>53</sup> *Bolshevik*, Sept. 18, 1943; *Pravda*, Dec. 1, 1945. See also J. Towster, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

<sup>54</sup> See, for instance, Markosha Fischer, *My Lives in Russia*, New York, 1937, p. 55 ff.

<sup>55</sup> Compare Article 58 of Soviet Criminal Code.

<sup>56</sup> Compare Paul Miliukov, *Russian Culture*, Vol. 3, pp. 139-140. See also Edmund Stevens, "This Is Russia—Uncensored," *Christian Science Monitor*, December, 1949.

families that idealization of the past, longing for freedom and a better life, skepticism concerning Bolshevik ideology and opposition against the Soviet regime may be safely expressed. Within such families also religion is often cultivated and secretly practiced.<sup>57</sup>

At the same time the unstable political and economic circumstances, exceedingly high war casualties, famines, depletion of rural areas of adult men, convict labor camps in which millions of parents have been confined, and the pressing needs for labor of women, all have caused an increasing number of broken families and a growing number of illegitimate, neglected and delinquent children. A number of these children at the age of 9 are sent to military schools. Others between the ages of 3 and 13 are sent to special homes for children which are in charge of the secret political police.<sup>58</sup> Such children are considered to have an ideal background for their training as future specialists in conspiracy, overseeing and violence. The increasing stress on internal vigilance and the pressing need of the NKVD to feed their vast economic enterprises with cheap convict labor indicate that the number of such people will not decrease in the foreseeable future. But like the *Oprichniki* of Ivan the Terrible and the Janizaries of the Ottoman Empire, these people, who have often been raised in the midst of harshness, brutality and lack of human warmth, might become extremely unreliable elements in a "prison-and-barracks society" in which a small ruling class must maintain itself in power in the midst of apathetic but potentially hostile and rebellious multitudes.

The ambitious careerists, zealous devotees and watchdogs, specialists in conspiracy and violence who climb to the top levels of the Soviet political pyramid apply the principle of "obedience or death" (*povinovenie ili smert*) in their personal feuds and struggle for positions and power. In such an atmos-

<sup>57</sup> Material on these points was gathered by the author through interviews with Russian non-returners. Another form of opposition to the Bolshevik regime is manifested in numerous anecdotes which ridicule the Soviet system.

<sup>58</sup> Compare Decree of August 22, 1943.

phere full of capriciousness and arbitrariness, suspicion and fear, privileges and indulgences of power and ideas of grandeur do not sufficiently compensate for strains and stresses, for anxieties, and for deep feelings of insecurity which do not lessen but increase the higher one is placed. Accumulated grievances and pent-up hostilities of these people find a convenient outlet and targets in an intense propaganda of hatred and violence against "internal and external enemies." Accordingly words of vilification aimed to arouse hatred and words which convey the image of violence have become increasingly prominent in Soviet vocabulary. The "enemies of the people" are referred to as "traitors," "useless rubbish," "dregs of humanity," "hangmen," "fiendish criminals." These "instruments of the oppression of the proletariat" have to be mercilessly "smashed" and "exterminated." Any signs of softness in dealing with such people is denounced as "bourgeois sentimentalism."<sup>59</sup> Instead, *besstrashie, surovost, besposhchadnost*—fearlessness, ruthlessness, pitilessness—are extolled as the "Lenin way" of dealing with all opponents and deviants. Fearing to be annihilated unless they themselves destroy their adversaries, these people demand that already on the school level the children should be trained in "revolutionary passion" and "saturated with irreconcilable hatred" and with a "burning desire" to destroy the "enemies of socialist society."<sup>60</sup>

Also cunning, craft, and deliberate deceit where adversaries are concerned are fostered in Soviet school training and mass propaganda following Lenin's precept that the Communists, when necessary, must "resort to strategy and adroitness, illegal proceedings, reticence and subterfuge."<sup>61</sup> They must use any ruse, trick, veiling of truth; they must dodge and maneuver. They must be ready to retreat and to suffer any humiliation and self-abasement. In Lenin's words they must if necessary "crawl on their

bellies" in the interest of final victory. And to justify the use of any means in this struggle, the opponents of Bolshevism are pictured as being "non-human" and are often referred to as "gnats," "insects," "vermin," "reptiles," "dogs," "wild animals," "beasts of prey." The principles of humanism are said not to apply to beasts.<sup>62</sup>

But once self-seeking careerists and fanatical devotees, specialists in violence, conspiracy and vigilance take into their hands the reins of a society which they indoctrinate with hatred and ruthlessness, the value of human life tends to be lowered. Moreover the disregard for individual rights and needs is likely to become generalized and to be applied not only in dealings with enemies but also in relations with associates, allies, friends, and subjects in general, whenever the vested interests of the ruling faction are threatened. The plans and future victories are likely to be rationalized as worthy of any cost in terms of personal freedom and dignity, human suffering and human lives.<sup>63</sup> Said Stalin:

It [is] easy to be a hero or a great leader if one has to do with people such as the Russians . . . even persons of medium courage and even cowards become heroes in Russia. Those who do not . . . are killed.<sup>64</sup>

In this system of power as long as internal economic development and ideological integration do not show results desired by the ruling faction, successful external expansion might become a convenient way to bolster the prestige of the ruling class and a means to unify the subjects behind Bolshevik leadership. But in such a case there

<sup>59</sup> A. Vyshinsky, "Predislovie," in T. V. Averbah, *Ot Prestuplenia k Trudu*, 1930.

<sup>60</sup> Yesipov and Goncharov, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-70.  
<sup>61</sup> Lenin, *The Infantile Sickness of Leftism*, New York, 1920, pp. 42, 59, 64, 89, 96.  
<sup>62</sup> Yesipov and Goncharov, *op. cit.*, p. 72.  
<sup>63</sup> The disregard of Soviet commanders for their men in times of war resulting in excessive war casualties is well known. See on this point General Dwight D. Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe*, New York, 1948; General Bedell Smith, *My Three Years in Moscow*, New York, 1950; and O. V. Anisimov, "The Soviet Generation," translated from *Novy Zhurnal*, Vol. XXII (New York, 1949) by Russian Research Center, Harvard University.

<sup>64</sup> R. E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, New York, 1950, p. 421. See also the memoirs of Winston Churchill in *Life*, October 30, 1950, pp. 95, 104-106.

is also the urgency to enhance external security should the needed expansion provoke international complications. It is in this way that the Communist parties throughout the world had to be shaped into instruments of Soviet foreign policy to facilitate Soviet conquests.<sup>65</sup> The master plan was to use the local Communist parties (especially those located on the borders of the Soviet orbit) to undermine their home regimes, to organize guerrilla warfare and to establish "provisional revolutionary governments." These then invite the Soviet armies to "help" them to defeat their enemies and to suppress "counter revolution."<sup>66</sup> Such policies have been reflected in the Bolshevik ideology which makes a distinction between "imperialist war of aggression" and "national and class liberation." The capitalist countries are said to engage in aggressive wars and colonial expansion; the role of the Soviet army to be only to help peoples in their "just struggles" to overthrow the yoke of imperialism and to offer them "unselfish and fraternal help" in building socialism.<sup>67</sup>

In this manner, a chain of vassal countries has been formed in the shadow of the Red Army. But in order to maintain unchallenged control by Moscow, the Soviet system of economic, political and intellectual regimentation had to be introduced in these lands. Therefore, in these Soviet dependencies also police vigilance and military preparedness, supervisory and propaganda agencies had to take precedence over the productive institutions. Children, often war orphans, are being taken to the Soviet Union to be trained in unconditional loyalty and

obedience to Moscow and to be sent back as "new Janizaries" to rule their native lands. Only the Kremlin-trusted people, skilled in violence, conspiracy, overseeing, organization, and agitation—often semi-educated but ambitious careerists and zealots—have been encouraged to climb the political ladder, a situation that has brought about increasing political and economic difficulties in the satellite world.<sup>68</sup> Therefore, the addition of each new dependency has actually extended the area of strains and tensions and has added fresh pressures for further conquests.<sup>69</sup> But this expansion of Soviet power and Communist fomented unrest could not have failed to provoke increasing anxieties and fears in the countries which consider themselves threatened by Bolshevik advance. This trend of events has led to military alliances and war preparedness which might foster formation of a number of "garrison states"<sup>70</sup> outside of the Soviet orbit. Hence growing friction between two increasingly hostile and aggressive worlds, which has already taken the form of a "cold war" and of localized warfare, may eventually break out into all-out fighting on a global scale. It is possible, however, that the accumulating complexities and stresses generated by the structure of Soviet power may get out of the Kremlin's control, paralyze external conquests and bring about disintegration of Bolshevism through internal conflicts and other pressures.

<sup>65</sup> See *Constitution and Rules of the Communist International*, Points 5 and 14; also *Theses and Statutes of the Communist International*, "Role of the Party in the Revolution," Points 13 and 14.

<sup>66</sup> See, for instance, *Constitution of People's Republic of Hungary*, Preamble. See also Dinko Tomasic, "The Structure of Soviet Power and Expansion," *Annals of the American Academy of Political Social Science*, Sept., 1950, pp. 33-35.

<sup>67</sup> Compare *The Programme of the Communist International*, *op. cit.* See also D. Tomasic, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-35.

<sup>68</sup> See letters exchanged between the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. English text of this correspondence in *Soviet-Yugoslav Dispute*, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1948. See also the statement to the press of Vladimir Hudek, former representative of satellite Czechoslovakia to the United Nations, *The New York Times*, May 17, 1950. Also compare D. and E. Rodnick, "Notes on Communist Personality Types in Czechoslovakia," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Spring, 1950, pp. 81-88. See also D. Tomasic, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-42.

<sup>69</sup> D. Tomasic, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-35.

<sup>70</sup> See on this point H. D. Lasswell, *National Security and Individual Freedom*, New York, 1950.

## FAMILY, MIGRATION, AND INDUSTRIALIZATION IN JAPAN\*

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**D**IVISION of labor is characteristic of all human societies, the essential distinction between cultures lying in the extent of the segregation of specialized economic activities from the cohesive functioning of the primary group. Analysis of the relationships between society and economy in transition thus becomes complex. If the world is viewed in static focus, the gamut of adjustments extends from the integrated functioning of the numerically small non-literate cultures to the diversified functioning of the great industrial societies. A dynamic focus indicates a directional drift in change. Movement is proceeding from the subsistence to the monetary economy, from the integrated to the differentiated functioning. In this transition there is a diversity of pattern that is at once economic and the product of compulsions deeper than the structures of imported and imposed economies.

Resources, people, technologies, social structure, economic organization and political order are intermeshed in the processes of change in manpower utilization that permit and are created by economic development. The episodic utilization of the African in commercial agriculture, mining, and government activities led to a fragmented interpenetration of subsistence and monetary economies that created cultural detribalization and thwarted economic development. In Southeast Asia commercial and industrial economies producing primarily for the export market co-existed with native agrarian economies whose redundant people furnished the reservoir for the labor force of the commercial economy. In Taiwan and Korea export crops were produced by native peas-

ants, but living remained integrated as long as residence continued in the villages, labor was familial, and subsistence was locally produced. In the complex industrial economies of the West, advanced technologies and increased capital utilization tended to break the direct relationship between labor and subsistence. The technological revolution made agriculture itself a capitalized enterprise.

The changing patterns of manpower utilization in most of the areas for which even rudimentary data are available indicate both the generality and the diversity of the agrarian-industrial transition. The analytical difficulties to other than a theoretical approach to the problem of the social aspects of this transition are formidable, however, for the industrial economies of the differentiated society are European in origin, whereas the economies in early transition are non-European. Moreover, the crucial aspect of the transition, whether viewed demographically or culturally, is the utilization of manpower during the long period when the rapidly increasing numbers of an already densely settled people impose the dual requirements of increasing rates of economic expansion and precipitant geographic and occupational redistribution on any society that is to complete the movement from integrated localism to mature industrialism. Modern Japan thus achieves pre-eminent relevance as a case study. Her culture and her earlier people-technology-resources relationships were Eastern, whereas her industrial transformation was patterned after the West. In three-quarters of a century she moved from the rice economy of Monsoon Asia to middle industrialization by Western economic criteria. The statistical record of changing people and economy is voluminous and increasingly accurate over time, and

\* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society held in Denver, September 7-9, 1950.

it is available for analysis. Thus in Japan there can be analysis of the actual relationships between social institutions, population movements, and economic transformations rather than speculative structuring of hypothetical relationships that may occur in remote areas of economic development at some future time.

#### DECades of Transition: 1920-1940<sup>1</sup>

In Japan the commercial revolution, the organization of handicraft manufacturing and the widespread diffusion of the monetary economy began within the presumably stable society of the Tokugawa shogunate in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. With the opening to the West, the alteration in the balance of power, and the Meiji Restoration there was a planned industrial transformation that involved a widespread but generally selective imitation of the West. Looking backward from the middle of the twentieth century, it appears that the Japanese movements were oriented toward the achievement of power through science and technology without such alterations in social structure as would forfeit the specifically Japanese aspects of Japanese culture.

*Industrialization.* Industrialization occurred gradually, with occupational and residential shifts broadly comparable to those that occurred earlier in the West.<sup>2</sup> At

<sup>1</sup> Detailed citations of the sources of the basic data that underlie the numerical and verbal generalizations of the following pages would be unnecessarily verbose. The official demographic publications of the Imperial Government of Japan for the period prior to the Surrender are cited in: Irene B. Taeuber and Edwin G. Beal, Jr., *Guide to the Official Demographic Statistics of Japan. Part I. Japan Proper, 1868-1945*. Supplement, *Population Index*, Vol. 12, No. 4, Oct., 1946. Reports and studies of the period after 1945 are cited currently in *Population Index*.

<sup>2</sup> There is a voluminous literature on the economic development of Japan from the Meiji Restoration to 1940. See particularly: Elizabeth B. Schumpeter et al., *The Industrialization of Japan and Manchoukuo, 1930-1940*, New York: Macmillan, 1940; Teijiro Uyeda, *The Small Industries of Japan, Their Growth and Development*, London: Oxford University Press, 1938; John E. Orchard,

the time of the Meiji Restoration in 1868 some 85 per cent of the families were dependent on agriculture. In 1920, when the first enumerative census was taken, 46 per cent of all gainfully occupied males reported agriculture as their major occupation. Between 1920 and 1940 agriculture declined consistently in relative importance, whereas industry and construction increased. In 1920 some 49 per cent of Japan's gainfully occupied men were in agriculture, forestry and fishing, 42 per cent in industry, trade and transportation. In 1940, two decades later, 36 per cent of the gainfully occupied men were in agriculture and fishing, 52 per cent in industry and distribution. Occupational differentiation had occurred among women, too, as increasing proportions entered gainful employment outside family agriculture. And, as in the West, increasing school attendance and lessened labor force participation in old age had shortened the period of life in which gainful employment was customary.

*Urbanization.* Rapid urbanization accompanied the economic transformation. The men and women who moved to the cities for industrial employment provided the nucleus of purchasing power for concentrations of people engaged in the preparation of food, the making of the traditional household products, and the distributive trades. And so, in 1920, only half a century after the legal termination of feudalism, Japan had 16 per cent of her total population in cities of 50 thousand or more, 12 per cent in cities of 100 thousand and over, eight per cent in the six great cities of Tokyo, Yokohama, Nagoya, Osaka, Kyoto and Kobe. Twenty years later, in 1940, 34 per cent of the people were in

*Japan's Economic Position: The Progress of Industrialization*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1930; International Labour Office, *Industrial Labour in Japan*, Studies and Reports, Series A, No. 37, Geneva, 1933; Ryoichi Ishii, *Population Pressure and Economic Life in Japan*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937; Warren S. Thompson, *Population and Peace in the Pacific*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946; Ernest F. Penrose, *Population Theories and Their Application, with Special Reference to Japan*, Stanford University, California, 1934.

cities of 50 thousand or more, 29 per cent in cities of 100 thousand or more, and 20 per cent in the six great cities alone.

Industrialization and urbanization occurred in Japan as they had earlier in the West, and the demographic correlates were similar. Age at marriage was higher in the cities, and the limitation of procreation within marriage was more widespread. The traditional urban-rural fertility differentials existed within a general matrix of decline that extended to the most remote parts of the country. Mortality likewise followed its earlier course in the West, public health and sanitation permitting the cities that had once been consumers of men to become more healthful than the rural areas. Internal migration was an essential aspect of the economic-demographic transformation. In the most highly industrial provinces from three-fifths to two-thirds of all persons in the productive ages of 20 to 50 were in-migrants from other provinces of Japan Proper; in the most agrarian provinces, on the other hand, in-migrants constituted only seven to ten per cent of the population in the major productive ages. In Japan, as in the West, this cityward trek of the peasant was viewed alternately as wrenching apart the traditional structure of an ancient and integrated society, or as creating a new economic order that utilized what would have otherwise been the excess population of the rural areas under conditions that were conducive to cultural modernization, the transition from high to low fertility, and the eventual cessation of the population increase generated by modernization.

*The Economic Transition.* Japan's industrialization appeared on superficial observation to represent a direct transition from a subsistence agrarian economy to an industrial urban economy. The actuality was not so simple as broad census statistics would indicate. The process of economic readjustment mirrored in these statistics was achieved primarily through the reallocation of youth, and that reallocation occurred through the family system. The movements for employment and for marriage that created one of the most rapid urbanizations in

the modern world were controlled through a household system whose ancient roots and modern formation were alike components of a feudal social structure. Integral and differentiated functioning co-existed. Industry and commerce became added functions of a family whose cohesiveness in the metropolis became in some ways even greater than it had been in the village, and monetary values permeated a culture sizable portions of whose people worked without wages.

To understand Japan's movement toward an industrial economy with its consequent changes in the occupational composition and the rural-urban distribution of the population, it is necessary to move backward in history and assess the social transformations that were at once basis, cause and consequence of industrial development. Japan's industrialization occurred under unique conditions, as indeed does all social change if the distinctions are fine enough. The Period of Seclusion initiated by the Tokugawa in the early seventeenth century failed to achieve its goal of the unchanging society, but two and one-half centuries of isolation, relative stability and peace resulted in the fusion of once disparate cultural elements, the solidification of the social order, and the inculcation of habits of discipline and obedience. Feudalism was ended by the Restoration, but social transformation and economic development proceeded in intimate relationship to each other under the guidance of an oligarchic group speaking in the name of a paternalistic emperor. Early developments were halting, sometimes even contradictory. The historic patterns of the early twentieth century evolved primarily because the decisions made in specific situations reflected, however crudely, the basic economic and demographic factors that circumscribed the areas of potential choice. Whatever the relative roles of central decision and unplanned evolution, the consequences of the transition that occurred are indisputable. The integrated culture of the rural areas was gradually intermeshed with the monetary economy of the cities through the modification of both in ways conducive to political stability and economic development.

Japan had a population of some 30 million at the time of the opening to the West, 35 million at the time of the first attempted count in 1872. The possibilities for the expansion of the cultivable area were severely limited by the mountainous terrain within Japan itself and the comparatively dense settlement of adjacent Asian areas. The raw materials for industrial development were generally deficient. Levels of technology within Japan were those of the sixteenth century; levels that must be acquired were those of the late nineteenth century. Industrial capital was almost non-existent, and borrowed capital even if available might have involved the colonial status that had been the fate of the remainder of Asia. The population was over-dense on the land, and the entrance of Western imports ruined many of the small industries that had existed during the feudal period. The situation was one of all-pervading poverty. And, given the continuation of the population increase that began during the Period of Seclusion itself, rapid economic expansion would be required to maintain even a stationary economic position.

The transition from feudal regime to national state was peaceful. Japan avoided the catastrophic human costs of revolution, famine or mass liquidation. The living of the people was maintained by agricultural expansion to new areas such as Hokkaido, some increase in acreage in the previously cultivated areas, improved yields and, later, imports. The mass requirements other than food were met primarily by the extension of household industries. In the broad segments of the economy in and through which the majority of the people lived there was little mechanization in the Western sense, but instead a more intense use of human labor. Capital accumulation was critical, as were directive and managerial problems. These also were soluble, for heavy taxes on the rural areas yielded revenues that the state could use to stimulate the Western-type industries that were later transferred to private ownership. The funding of the rice stipends of the *daimyo* and the *samurai* gave capital to a group long acquainted with the tech-

niques of social status if not of business management. Development of the *zaibatsu* organizations facilitated capital accumulation and economic expansion in fields involving risk. The labor supply was plentiful and rapidly increasing, so that remuneration was low. It was a precarious equilibrium, maintained by virtue of the fact that the traditional culture with its reciprocal responsibilities and obligations of social classes and family members survived within what was overtly a Western type of economic transformation.

*The Agrarian-Industrial Interpenetration.* The predominant number of industrial plants remained small, with a relatively minute apex of great industrial plants such as we of the West envision when we think of manufacturing industry. In 1930, at the culmination of the traditional textile-type industrialization, over 50 per cent of all persons engaged in manufacturing industry were in plants having fewer than five workers; over seventy per cent were in plants employing less than 50 persons.<sup>3</sup> With an industrialization of this type the lines between agricultural and non-agricultural, rural and urban, became blurred. Agricultural families had to have income outside agriculture to survive, and so members would work in nearby factories or on a piece-work basis within the home. Some members might go elsewhere during the slack season in agriculture, or the sons and daughters might leave permanently for the cities or non-agricultural employment. In practice these differing adjustments to the severe pressures of people on the land co-existed in varying degrees. In 1946, only 55 per cent of the farms reported that all their working members were engaged in agriculture, whereas 45 per cent had one or more members engaged in another occupation. Of these latter families, 64 per cent reported agriculture as the major family occupation, while 36 per cent reported it as secondary.

The redundant population of the rural areas facilitated the location of small factories and piece-work distribution outside

<sup>3</sup> Teijiro Uyeda, *The Small Industries of Japan, Their Growth and Development*, London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1938, p. 9.

the cities. As late as 1930, cities of 50,000 or more population included less than half of those engaged in manufacturing industry, the precise proportions amounting to 45 per cent for men and 28 per cent for women. In fact, twenty-one per cent of the men and 36 per cent of the women who were classified as gainfully occupied in manufacturing industry were enumerated in *mura* with populations of less than five thousand; 36 per cent of the men and 49 per cent of the women were enumerated in communes, generally *mura*, where the total population was less than ten thousand.

Employment and working conditions within the cities partook of the characteristics of those in the rural areas. The proportion of farmers in the incorporated cities was low, but household industries flourished, and the processing and distribution of the commodities of daily living occupied rather large proportions of the total urban population. A geographic stability almost comparable to that of the rural areas existed for many of the nominally urban people. Movement from place of origin, whether rural or urban, proceeded directly to the industrial area without intermediate moves. Peasant and familialistic relationships of work, leisure and living continued in the metropolis. In Tokyo in 1930, place of work and place of residence were identical for 60 per cent of the gainfully occupied males, 80 per cent of the gainfully occupied females. Comparable percentages for Osaka were 46 per cent for men and 61 per cent for women. In general, the coincidence of place of work and place of residence was greater in the rural areas than in the cities, but everywhere the cultivation of the soil, the household industries and the distributive trades knit gainful occupation and household functioning together.

Implicit in the preceding discussion of Japan's industrial development is the compulsive functioning of the integrated family. Whether the hard necessities of the industrial transformation created the familialistic organization which made that transition economically feasible and humanly bearable or whether the family system channeled the industrialization into the only course feasible

under the totality of the circumstances is perhaps irrelevant. The low rates of remuneration made it essential that all persons who could do so work, for the head of the household working alone could not maintain even the low levels of living that characterized the Japanese family. Family members who could not secure remunerative jobs outside the family labored as unpaid workers in the family enterprise. In general, additional family workers were most numerous in the subsistence occupations, least numerous in the more industrialized segments of the economy. As late as 1940, almost one-third of the total gainfully occupied persons, including three-fifths of the gainfully occupied women, were employed in family enterprises where they worked in most instances without specific monetary remuneration.

The magnitude of the use of unpaid family labor complicates the distinction between the subsistence and the commercial segments of the Japanese economy, for income and distribution were in major part familial rather than individual. Even in the more pecuniary industries wages were related only indirectly to individual productivity. Special allowances, family benefits and seniority increments resulted in a rough relationship between income and number of dependents, while paternalistic practices in maintenance during periods of depression created a stability of tenure that minimized insecurities for the individual at the same time that it made even more remote the relationship between industrial employment and individualism that is so often assumed to be a necessary correlate of industrialization.

*The Role of the Family.* The preservation of the reciprocal obligations of labor and maintenance that existed between household head and household members was a reflection of the intensity of the struggle of the people to maintain themselves at the levels which had come to constitute standards of living. The family was Japan's social security system. For most Japanese there were neither unemployment allowances, sickness benefits, old age pensions nor public welfare grants. The family substituted for all these luxuries of rich and advanced economies, for the

individual who lost a position in the commercial economy could rejoin his family of origin, secure subsistence, and become an additional worker attached to the family enterprise, be it farm or small shop. Alternatively, he could start a shop or sales enterprise or seek piecework, thus becoming a "small operator" while his family became "unpaid family labor." Unemployment was an ill-defined concept.

The preeminence of the family in the economic structure is reflected with great clarity in the patterns for the utilization of women. In all cultures women have a dual role, the economic and the demographic. In Japan the pressure to maximize both roles was severe, for poverty necessitated universal labor, while the imperatives of the ancient culture, the adjurations of the emperor, and economic self-interest emphasized abundant reproduction. Here, as elsewhere in Japanese culture, there was no selection between apparently conflicting developments, but rather adjustments and compromises were made that integrated them. There was little conflict during youth, for compulsory school attendance ended at age 12 or 13, whereas marriage occurred during the early twenties. In 1930, the percentage of girls gainfully occupied increased sharply from 20 per cent at ages 12 and 13 to 44 per cent at age 14 and 62 per cent at ages 15 to 19. As marriage approached, labor force participation rates declined. In the age group 20 to 24 the percentage of women employed had dropped to 54; at ages 25 to 29 it was 47. But proportions increased again after age 30. Forty-seven per cent of all married women were reported as gainfully occupied.

This seeming inconsistency between economic activity and socially sanctioned modes of behavior is illusory, for married women entered the labor market in ways consistent with their family role, i.e. they labored within the home or in the family enterprise, not outside it. In 1930, over three-fourths of all gainfully occupied married women were in agriculture, and a further 12 per cent were in distribution. Agriculture, household manufacturing and the family shops account for perhaps 95 per cent of the total utiliza-

tion of married women within the Japanese economy. It is significant that even the Japanese war effort of 1944 did not alter this picture; 83 per cent of the girls 18 and 19 years of age and 70 per cent of those aged 20 to 24 had been drawn into the labor market, but the proportion of gainfully occupied women at ages 25 to 29 was the same as it had been fourteen years before when the census of 1930 was taken.

#### MIGRATION

Occupational reallocation and geographical redistribution were achieved predominantly through the cityward movement of the surplus youth of the countryside. Here also, in a process generally regarded as highly individualistic, the role of the family was paramount. The codified household law prohibited a change of residence without the consent of the head of the household; the individual decision might be paramount in the actual move, but it need not be so. The assumption that this familial control would minimize migration is again to over-simplify processes by assuming that relationships observed at particular time periods in specific cultures are necessary and therefore universal. The Japanese did move, and they did so in sufficient numbers to maintain the agricultural population virtually unchanging from the Meiji Restoration to 1930 and to reduce it thereafter. The decisions and the adjustments tended to be familial rather than individual, but this was a social mechanism that facilitated the initial movement, minimized the adjustments in the new environment, and maintained acceptable patterns of living among individuals and the continuity of the social structure through the arranged marriage.

The role of the family in structuring migration is revealed in fascinating detail in the data of the 1930 census, where statistics on place of birth were tabulated by age. The interprovincial migrations under age 10 were proportionately similar for boys and girls, for children were dependent migrants. With adolescence the proportions of boys and girls involved in the provincial exodus and influx

diverged. Decisions were still familial, but the opportunities for sons and daughters differed sharply. Over 300 thousand girls were in factory dormitories located in the rural areas, while many had gone directly to the cities. Specific migration patterns were related to local factors of pressure and of attraction, but whether the broad currents or the local eddies are considered, the complex of pressures and opportunities were specifically female. The migration of boys had only a rough relationship to that of girls. By the time youth reached the middle twenties, however, proportions migrant were converging for men and women, and by the early thirties the relationship between the migrant status of men and women was very close. The explanation lies primarily in the prevalence of the arranged marriage. For women in their twenties there was a movement to the cities and the industrial areas to marry the men who had migrated earlier and a return from the cities to the villages to marry the men who had remained there.

The role of the family in migration, great as it was, was probably surpassed by the role of migration in transforming the family. The rice agriculture of Japan had not been a mode of living that produced local or regional flux within an agrarian matrix. In fact, the heritage of Tokugawa and more remote periods to modern Japan was stability in both geographic residence and social structure. These people with their venerable traditions of stability moved to the great cities, and in most instances they moved directly rather than through intermediate steps that would ease the adjustments. The difficulties were lightened by the small shops, the household industries, the family labor and the relative residential stability within the cities, but they remained great.

Migrants of all ages and both sexes were present in greatest numbers in those areas for which their social background and economic training least fitted them. The economic and cultural assimilation involved in migration to the metropolitan provinces was of such magnitude as to make assimilation itself an erroneous designation. In the agrarian provinces and those with proportionately

small industrialization the migrant was a minority, and assimilation in the ordinary sense could operate. But in the industrial provinces the migrant was a majority, and so assimilation occurred with those to be assimilated more numerous than those who were to assimilate them. In the most developed provinces, Tokyo and Osaka, immigrants out-numbered the provincial natives almost two to one in the economically productive ages from 25 to 40.

The inundation of the native in the industrial centers occurred for girls and women as it did for boys and men. The positions available to the single women in these areas were filled and there was created a reserve labor force for any and all positions consistent with women's historic role as wife and mother. The wife who maintained the household and bore the children in the metropolis had as a pattern the values and the behavior of her mother and the neighbors a generation earlier in a small town or village. In that life girls married, babies arrived, and the status was enhanced. Children assisted in the care of succeeding children—and if babies died, that, too, was one of the burdens that life imposed. Adherence to the reproductive patterns of the village in the city would have produced economic and psychological maladjustments. Each additional baby meant eventually a roughly proportionate increase in expenditures. Limited space and city streets compounded the physical problems of child care, while economic return for child labor was long postponed. The ambition of the husband, the comparison of levels of living that induced striving and discontent, and the other components of urbanization of an industrial type also entered. These adjustment problems, more serious for women than for men because of women's traditional domestic immobilization, were not "social problems" of a minority of the population of the industrial areas but rather the day to day compulsions that transformed the behavior of the once peasant girls of the rural provinces who became the majority of the young married women of the industrial provinces.

The adjustments required by migration

were severe, but they were predominantly the shared adjustments of family groups rather than the disruptive wrench of single men in the industrial areas, single women in the agrarian areas, or of married men in the industrial areas with wives and children at home. Furthermore, they were transitory, for migrants came as individuals but contributed their children as the indigenous population of the areas to which they went. Social problems and adjustment difficulties were involved, but they were less acute for the children of the migrant than for the migrant himself. With the continuation of the utilization of migrants the native-born supply of labor to which the migrant had contributed so abundantly would become increasingly adequate to meet the needs both of labor maintenance and of labor expansion.

#### THE POSTWAR PERIOD

The integration of subsistence and monetary economy as we have described it here is predominantly that of the Imperial period, and particularly the interwar decades. The preparations for war and war itself introduced rapid industrial developments, while the absence of men and the heightened levels of economic activity during the years from 1937 to 1945 resulted in a somewhat increased participation of women. The traditional techniques of labor utilization continued without intrinsic modification, however. War ended with the destruction of major portions of the industrial plant and mass flights from the cities. In the four years between October 1, 1945 and October 1, 1949 the net repatriation movements added five million people to the population of Japan Proper, while natural increase added 5.5 million more. The 72.4 million people of 1945 had reached 82.6 million by the fourth quarter of 1949.

The postwar censuses of 1946 and 1947, together with the current data of the Monthly Report of the Labor Force, reveal the ancient structure of the labor force in great clarity, in part because the intensity of the economic difficulties had thrust people backward toward the traditional familial ways of insuring survival. The population on

the land and the people gainfully occupied in agriculture had increased, a reversal of a long-time trend that had kept virtually unchanged the absolute number of people on Japan's overcrowded farms. High proportions of the total population and of the various age and sex groups reported themselves in the labor force with a definition that made one-half hour or more of gainful activity constitute employment, but the majority of the numerous laboring Japanese worked long hours and desired further hours. The predominance of family workers continued; in November, 1949, twenty-one per cent of all men in the labor force and 64 per cent of all women were classified as family workers. In agriculture and forestry the proportions reached 40 per cent for men and 84 per cent for women. In commerce and finance, proprietors and family workers constituted 66 per cent of the total for men, 76 per cent for women. Unemployment was negligible, being only 300 to 400 thousand in all Japan, for people in the rural areas became family workers while people in the urban areas became small scale manufacturers or shopkeepers.<sup>4</sup>

The impetus of the Occupation and the democratic reforms of the post-surrender period tend toward the abolition of those distinctive characteristics of the labor force structure that reflected its roots in the authoritarian family system. The responsibilities and the obligations of the household head are legally abolished; women have an independence of action theoretically comparable to that of men, and the arranged marriage survives only through the voluntary subservience of children to parents. Individualism is to replace familism, equality to replace feudalism. The social services and the welfare provisions of the state are to supplant those of the family. The extent to which these essentially Western modifications will alter the structure of the Japanese labor force will depend in major part on the achievement of general solutions to very difficult economic problems, for the basic char-

<sup>4</sup> Japan, Ministry of Labor, Labor Statistics and Research Division, *Analysis of Labor Economy in 1949*, Tokyo, 1950, p. 3.

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acteristics of the Japanese land-resources-people relationship remain. Rapid and continuing increase in the population in labor-force ages is inevitable for at least another generation unless death rates increase sharply.

#### CONCLUSION

In Japan the unbroken pattern of an oligarchic group with traditions of leadership, and a people disciplined to obey, permitted controlled and selective modernization. The shogun of Tokugawa had wished a world without change; the elder statesmen of Meiji wished economic development within a stable social order. Thus the law of the state, the indoctrination of Shinto, and the propaganda of the educational system operated to stay the social consequences of economic transformation. The transition from an integrated to a diversified economy pro-

ceeded fundamentally as interpenetration, with a gradual shift in balance from the one to the other. During the period from the Restoration to the present, however, feudalism and industrialization, subsistence and monetary economy, familism and urbanization have co-existed.

Japanese experience is clearly insufficient for generalization concerning the future of other Asian regions. It is sufficient to suggest, however, that the changing patterns of manpower utilization that accompany population increase within a matrix of industrialization and urbanization may differ in various cultures and at various periods of time. Resources and technologies impose limitations within which adjustments must occur, but within the fairly wide range of the economically feasible social structure may be a major factor in determining both the extent and the characteristics of labor utilization.

## CULTURAL PLURALISM AND LINGUISTIC EQUILIBRIUM IN SWITZERLAND\*

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**N**EXT to its scenic beauty, what fascinates the whole world most about Switzerland is the amazing spectacle of its cultural pluralism which is nevertheless integrated into a stable and harmonious unity. Switzerland is the famous and oft-quoted exception to the rule in contemporary Europe that marks of cultural diversity generally serve as rallying points for hate and conflict. No wonder that "the concept of Switzerland as a microcosm, an orderly little world of its own, reflecting the reconciled components of the greater, but disorderly, world around it, has caught the fancy of not a few dispensers of good advice,"<sup>1</sup> and has

been held up as a shining example for a sick world to follow.

The phenomenon of Swiss harmony, however, is often only imperfectly understood. Historically the Swiss nation has originated from the desire of a group of heterogeneous communities to preserve their local independence through a system of mutual defense alliances. As a result of this long and often very stormy historical process, the Swiss have finally learned to blend their cultural differences into a national equilibrium. Today they no longer regard their cultural heterogeneity as an obstacle to the perpetuation of national unity and political stability. To a large extent this national equilibrium rests on an underlying balance of demographic factors which is not always perceived. Even the Swiss themselves do not commonly realize how fortunate it is for

\* Paper read at the annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society held at New Haven, March 31-April 1, 1951.

<sup>1</sup> J. Christopher Herold, *The Swiss Without Halos*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1948, p. 3.

Swiss harmony that the basic demographic equilibrium has remained practically undisturbed for more than a century. The two most important ingredients of Swiss cultural pluralism are the ethnic-linguistic and the religious structure of the Swiss population. This paper will be concerned only with the former.

Data on the linguistic composition of the Swiss population have been collected since the Census of 1850, but the methods of enumeration have varied somewhat. In 1850 it was attempted to ascertain the linguistic distribution of the population on the basis of the official language spoken in each community, while in the censuses of 1860 and 1870 the language spoken in each household was recorded. Only since the Census of 1880 has each individual been enumerated by the language spoken. The Swiss Census asks for the "usual" or customary language of the individual; only in the case of children who cannot talk is the "mother" tongue recorded. No questions are asked about knowledge of other languages.

TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SWISS POPULATION BY LANGUAGE, 1850-1941

Years	German	French	Italian	Romansh	Other
1850	70.2	22.6	5.4	1.8	...
1880	71.3	21.4	5.7	1.4	0.2
1888	71.4	21.8	5.3	1.3	0.2
1900	69.8	22.0	6.7	1.2	0.3
1910	69.1	21.1	8.1	1.1	0.6
1920	70.9	21.2	6.2	1.1	0.6
1930	71.9	20.4	6.0	1.1	0.6
1941	72.6	20.7	5.2	1.1	0.4

Source: *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Schweiz*, 1948.

The national languages of Switzerland are German, French, Italian, and Romansh, all of which are expressly recognized as equal in the Federal Constitution. They are, however quite unequal in importance: the French-, Italian-, and Romansh-speaking Swiss are outnumbered by the German-speaking Swiss almost three to one. As Table 1 shows, no changes have occurred in the relative position of each of the four national languages since 1850; in fact, the linguistic composition of the population has remained

remarkably stable on the whole. From 1850 to 1941 roughly 70 per cent of the Swiss population have always been German-speaking and a little above 20 per cent have been French-speaking. Indeed, the same relation between these two most important languages seems to have obtained even earlier; according to an estimate approximately 22 per cent of the population spoke French, and at least 70 per cent spoke German in 1798.<sup>2</sup>

From 1850 to 1880 only very minor shifts occurred between the language groups; moreover, due to the different methods of enumeration the figures of 1850 and 1880 are not strictly comparable. From 1880 to 1910 somewhat greater changes took place; the proportion of both the German-speaking and the French-speaking decreased somewhat while the Italian-speaking rose from 5.7 to 8.1 per cent. The explanation lies in a strong wave of Italian immigration: whereas only 42,000 Italian citizens resided in Switzerland in 1880, their number had increased to 203,000 by 1910. After the outbreak of the first World War, however, a large proportion of the Italians returned home, and consequently the percentage of Italian-speakers in Switzerland was again reduced. Since 1910 the language distribution has been enumerated separately for Swiss citizens and for alien residents. Table 2 shows that the proportion

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SWISS CITIZENS AND OF ALIEN RESIDENTS BY LANGUAGE, 1910-1941

Years	German	French	Italian	Romansh	Other	Swiss Citizens	
						Alien Residents	
1910	72.7	22.1	3.9	1.2	0.1		
1920	73.0	21.7	4.0	1.2	0.1		
1930	73.7	21.0	4.0	1.2	0.1		
1941	73.9	20.9	3.9	1.1	0.2		

Source: *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Schweiz*, 1948.

<sup>2</sup> Wilhelm Bickel, *Bevoelkerungsgeschichte und Bevoelkerungspolitik der Schweiz*, Zurich: Buecher-gilde, Gutenberg, 1947, p. 140.

of Italian-speaking Swiss has remained practically stable since 1910; the fluctuations of the Italian language are therefore entirely attributable to the migrations of Italian citizens.

Not all the shifts in the linguistic struc-

TABLE 3. THE BIRTH RATES OF THE SWISS CANTONS, 1901-10 AND 1941-48

Cantons	Live Births per 1,000 Population	
	1901-10	1941-48
<i>German-Speaking:</i>		
Zurich	24.4	17.4
Berne <sup>a</sup>	29.0	20.6
Lucerne	27.7	21.9
Uri	32.7	25.3
Schwyz	28.6	22.2
Obwalden	28.5	24.6
Nidwalden	29.7	27.0
Glarus	22.6	19.2
Zug	25.8	21.3
Solothurn	30.8	21.2
Basel-Stadt	25.1	15.0
Basel-Land	25.7	18.3
Schaffhausen	24.8	19.8
Appenzell Ausser-Rhoden	26.7	17.2
Appenzell Inner-Rhoden	32.2	19.8
St. Gall	28.0	20.5
Grisons <sup>b</sup>	24.7	21.3
Aargau	27.5	21.0
Thurgau	25.4	19.8
<i>French-Speaking:</i>		
Vaud	24.7	16.5
Neuchatel	24.5	15.2
Geneva	17.9	12.6
<i>Preponderantly French-Speaking:</i>		
Fribourg <sup>c</sup>	33.4	23.2
Valais <sup>d</sup>	30.0	24.7
<i>Italian-Speaking:</i>		
Ticino	29.0	15.9
Switzerland Total	26.9	19.2

<sup>a</sup> In 1941, 83.6 per cent of the population spoke German, while 15.4 per cent spoke French.

<sup>b</sup> In 1941, 54.9 per cent of the population spoke German, 31.3 per cent spoke Romansh, and 12.8 per cent spoke Italian.

<sup>c</sup> In 1941, 66.8 per cent of the population spoke French, 32.4 per cent spoke German.

<sup>d</sup> In 1941, 65.5 per cent of the population spoke French, 33.2 per cent spoke German.

Source: *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Schweiz, 1948.*

ture are due to international migrations, however. Apart from the fluctuations of Italian, it is evident from Tables 1 and 2 that in recent decades the German language has been gaining slightly on the French, not only in the population as a whole, but also among the Swiss citizens themselves. The explanation must be sought in the considerable fertility differentials which exist between the French- and the German-speaking areas of the country. As Table 3 shows, the three wholly French-speaking cantons—Geneva, Neuchatel and Vaud—have had considerably lower birth rates than most of the German-speaking cantons. This difference, which has widened since the turn of the century, has been only partly offset by the relatively high fertility rates of the preponderantly French-speaking but less populous cantons Fribourg and Valais.

These differences in fertility, which are not offset by differential mortality<sup>3</sup> would undoubtedly lead to a greater ascendancy of the German language and to serious threats to the traditional linguistic equilibrium, were it not for the effects of internal migrations. French is spoken in a compact territorial area which comprises the western part of the country, while German is the language of the central and eastern regions, and Italian is spoken only south of the Alps. (See the accompanying language map.) However, ever since the Constitution of 1848 guaranteed freedom of migration and settlement within the whole country, increasing numbers of persons have moved across the language boundaries. As Table 4 shows, the Census of 1930 enumerated 114,000 German-speaking persons living in French language territory, but only 53,000 French-speaking individuals living in the German language areas. Thus, the French regions of the country have proved much more attractive to German-speaking migrants than the German regions have to the French-speaking Swiss. Now, the migrants tend to become rapidly assimilated

<sup>3</sup> The death rate in 1941, corrected for age, was 10.91 for the nineteen German-speaking cantons and 11.53 for the French-speaking cantons, a differential of only 0.62 per 1,000.

to the new language. This is especially the case with their children who can use only the official language of the region in school. As a matter of empirical fact, therefore, migration regularly involves an eventual change of language: the second generation no longer uses the tongue of its parents but the official language of the area as its customary language. The 114,000 German-

considered as a reservoir for the French language.

Assimilation takes place, of course, among the migrants to all the four language zones, but it is especially rapid in French Switzerland where German is taught only quite perfunctorily in the schools, while French is given much more emphasis as a second language in the schools of both German and

### LANGUAGE CHART OF SWITZERLAND



speaking persons who lived in French language territory in 1930 must therefore be

TABLE 4. POPULATION OF SWITZERLAND BY LANGUAGE AREA AND LANGUAGE SPOKEN, 1930

Language Spoken	Language Areas Numbers in 000's				
	German	French	Italian	Romansh	Total
German	2,791	114	12	6	2,924
French	53	776	1	..	830
Italian	56	28	157	2	243
Romansh	10	1	..	33	44
Other	10	14	1	..	25
Total	2,921	933	171	41	4,066

Source: W. Ott, "Sprache," in *Die Bevoelkerung der Schweiz*, 1939, p. 20.

Italian Switzerland. Although there are unfortunately no statistics available on the subject, it is a well-known fact that French is the second language of a very large number of German-Swiss, especially those connected with commerce and business, while the reverse is not nearly as true.<sup>4</sup> This difference is, of course, a factor in migration: knowing French fairly well, many German-Swiss find it easy to live in French Switzerland, while the French-Swiss find the language difference to be a barrier.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Herold, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> In justification of the French-speaking Swiss it should be noted here that they face a much greater linguistic handicap when they migrate to

In general, there is a widespread misconception abroad that every Swiss speaks all the national languages and possibly English as well. In fact, most Swiss know only one language well, although it is true that the proportion of those who have a more or less extensive command of other languages than their own is much greater in Switzerland than in most other countries of the world. A knowledge of several languages is essential in a country so dependent on foreign trade and on foreign tourists, and it is therefore not surprising that a working knowledge of foreign languages is a prerequisite for many jobs in the fields of commerce and finance, transport and communications, and, above all, in the hotel industry.

The facts, then, are that although Switzerland maintains more than one official language, the four national languages are spoken in clearly defined territorial areas. There is no extensive mixture of divergent tongues; the linguistic boundaries are generally clear (even though the French-German line splits some communities right down the middle); and the individual Swiss are no more bilingual or multilingual than are people

in other countries, although it is true that a good many of them have a good working knowledge of several languages in addition to their own.

High mountains mark off the boundaries between the Italian-speaking zone and the rest of Switzerland, thus preserving the Italian language area intact; but the dividing line between the French- and German-speaking zones is not marked by any natural boundaries. This is a purely historical line created at the end of the 5th century A.D. by the influx of German-speaking Alemanni into the territory previously occupied by another Germanic tribe, the Burgundians, who had however, become Latinized. The line dividing the settlements of the Latin-speaking Burgundians and those of the Germanic-speaking Alemanni eventually evolved into the language boundary between the French- and the German-speaking zones of Switzerland. In an age where ethnic diversity has become the focal point of raving nationalism, it is rather amusing to note that the ethnic origin of the French- and the German-speaking Swiss seems to have been the same; but it is true, of course, that the linguistic differences maintained over 1,500 years have led to fundamental cultural divergences between the French- and the German-Swiss.

The dividing line between these two major language areas has remained remarkably stable throughout the centuries although numerous minor changes have occurred in time. The line recognizes no cantonal boundaries: the northwest portion of Berne speaks French while the rest of the canton speaks German (84 per cent); the canton Fribourg is split into a larger French-speaking (67 per cent) and a smaller German-speaking section, and the same is true of the Valais where 66 per cent speak French. (See map.) Such minor changes as have occurred in the 19th and 20th centuries have been in favor of the French zone which has expanded slightly in the canton of Berne and especially in the Valais where a couple of formerly German-speaking communities have acquired French-speaking majorities as

the German area than do the German-speaking Swiss when they move into French territory. The reason is that German is a written, but not a spoken language in German Switzerland. Official documents, newspapers, and most literary works are written in standard German, but the spoken tongue is a Germanic dialect, or rather, as every canton has its own, a variety of dialects. These dialects are sufficiently alike to be universally understood in all cantons, but sufficiently different from the standard German spoken in Germany to form a real obstacle in familiar intercourse and to act as a protective device against too much German influence. The Swiss dialects, moreover, are more than a mere vernacular, since they are spoken by all Swiss Germans regardless of class or level of education, while dialects are usually only the tongue of the uneducated. In fact, therefore, the German-Swiss write standard German but usually speak a dialect so different from it that it is not understood in Germany and their children have to learn to write and speak standard German in school as if it were a foreign language. The French-speaking Swiss, therefore, who wishes to settle in German Switzerland must learn practically two difficult languages, a written and a spoken one, which does not make things any easier.

the result of migrations and have accordingly switched their official language.<sup>6</sup>

In the fourteen cantons entirely within the German-speaking area, German is the only official language for all legal relations with cantonal authorities; in the three cantons which are completely inside the French zone, French is the only official language, as is Italian in the canton Ticino; but three of the cantons are officially bilingual, and one is tri-lingual. In Berne, Fribourg, and Valais, German and French are both official, although in Berne, German, and in Fribourg, French, enjoy the privilege of being the original language in which the cantonal Constitution and the laws are drafted, and according to which they are, in case of doubt, to be construed. In the Grisons, German, Italian, and Romansh are all three declared to be official languages, but German, spoken by 55 per cent, is given preference over the other two.<sup>7</sup>

Romansh, a peculiar tongue of Latin origin, has been maintained by the descendants of the native Rhaetii in the Grisons canton without interruption from Roman times to the present day. Spoken by only 46,000 people in Switzerland, it is a branch of the Rhaeto-Romanic tongue which is also spoken in parts of the Italian Tyrol and Friuli, and it has an old and extensive literature. The Romansh language area is entirely located in the Grisons canton. (See map.) It is the only one of the Swiss language areas which has been shrinking as a result of encroachment by the German language. This has been largely due to the tourist trade which has brought German-speakers into some originally Romansh communities that have become internationally famous tourist centers, such as St. Moritz, for example. Partly as an effort to stem the adverse tide, Romansh was elevated to the dignity of a fourth national language in 1938 through an amendment to the constitution adopted by a popular vote. Whether this

<sup>6</sup> W. Ott, "Sprache," in *Die Bevoelkerung der Schweiz*, Herausgegeben vom Eidgenoessischen Statistischen Amt, Berne, 1939, p. 20.

<sup>7</sup> William E. Rappard, *The Government of Switzerland*, New York: Van Nostrand, 1936, p. 9.

can stop the shrinkage of its language area remains to be seen.

The linguistic equilibrium manifest in the multilingual principle is of fairly recent historical origin. Up to 1798 German was the only official language of the Swiss Confederation, in which all official documents were drafted.<sup>8</sup> The present French-, Italian- and Romansh-speaking cantons were not equal members of the Confederation politically; they were either semi-independent allies or subject provinces of the German-speaking cantons. Only as a result of the influences of the French revolution were these areas admitted to the Confederation as fully equal partners, German, French and Italian were declared to be the national languages of Switzerland in the Constitution of 1848, and Romansh was added 90 years later.

As a legal consequence of the multilingual principle it has been recognized that in all official relations with federal authorities, German-, French-, Italian- and Romansh-speaking Swiss have the right to use their own language. However, in order to save the expense of having to translate all laws and official documents, Romansh was not made an official language of the Confederation; and Italian, although an official language of the Confederation, has not claimed an absolute parity of position. Though all federal laws are published in the three official languages—German, French, and Italian—which are all equally authoritative, most of the official documents appear only in German and French. Even Italian-Swiss representatives usually speak French in the Federal Parliament, as do Italian-Swiss lawyers appearing before the Federal Supreme Court, while the Romansh-speaking Swiss use German on those occasions.

On the other hand, no effort whatsoever is made by the German-Swiss, who are in the overwhelming majority numerically, to assert any linguistic dominance. There are no linguistic minorities in Switzerland either in a legal or in an informal sense. On the contrary, since the multilingual principle is con-

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Rappard, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-8.

sidered an integral element of national unity, great care is taken to preserve the integrity of all the national languages and to keep the linguistic equilibrium intact. Thus, by unwritten law, at least two, and often three, of the seven places on the Federal Council, which is the Swiss cabinet, have always been reserved for French- and Italian-speaking confederates, and only four or five members of the Federal Council can be citizens of German-speaking cantons. Similar informal arrangements also prevail in the selection of justices for the Federal Tribunal.

In summary, the linguistic equilibrium which represents one of the foremost stabiliz-

ing and integrating influences in the modern Swiss democracy and which is the envy of a strife-torn world, originated at a time before language was made a symbol of rampant nationalism and has been kept on an even keel for more than a century mainly because of a fortunate balancing of demographic factors. It is quite true, however, that this demographic equilibrium has also been consciously reinforced through wise and statesmanlike political measures designed to prevent any upsets and disturbances throughout an era when other countries have permitted language to become a focus of conflict and division.

## GOVERNMENT REGULATION AND THE BUSINESS MIND

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**T**HIS is an attempt to measure the responses of businessmen to economic regulation under the New Deal and the Fair Deal and to demonstrate practical advantages of content analysis for government administrators. It is an analysis of an elite group, men whom society has regarded as leaders and who so regarded themselves. It deals with a period when these men were losing power in their society after many years of fruitful, if proud, dominion.

The failure of the economy to operate at anything like full capacity during the thirties inevitably evoked widespread demands for reform. At the same time this failure discredited the business leadership of the country who thereupon became isolated from their political allies and vulnerable to the coercive power of the state. The product of this combination of events was a series of measures which brought business practices under a degree of public control never before achieved, measures which affected the "normal run" of manufacturers as well as those in industries thought to be especially related to the public interest. Of course this produced complaint, but when the protest died

down, examination showed that, in fact, most manufacturers were regulated in only three important areas: labor relations, wages and hours, and trade practices. These are the areas which concern us in this paper.<sup>1</sup>

In this setting, the configuration of response, friction, and adaptation is a reward-

<sup>1</sup> This classification excludes measures which imposed regulation incidental to other purposes, such as tax and social security legislation. It further excludes financial and securities regulation on the basis that these types of regulation were (during this period) much less frequently mentioned in trade periodicals. Out of twenty-five interviews between the author and the operating heads of independent firms or branches of larger firms, only one considered this kind of regulation restrictive. The measures included are: National Labor Relations Act (1935) and, for 1948, Labor Management Relations Act (1947) (8 references); Fair Labor Standards Act (1938); Robinson-Patman Act (1936), Fair Trade (Miller-Tydings) Act (1937). Also included are the applications of established measures—Federal Trade Commission Act (1914) particularly as this was applied to basing point practices, Clayton Act (1914), and the Sherman Antitrust Act (1890). Where specified, the Emergency Price Control Act of 1941 is also included. This article deals exclusively with national economic regulation.

ing field of inquiry, not only, or principally, as a study of history, but rather as a guide to future policy making and administration. The method employed is a content analysis<sup>2</sup> of the assertions and values recorded in *Connecticut Industry*, the publication of the Manufacturers Association of Connecticut, Inc., for the years 1934-1940, and 1946-1948.<sup>3</sup>

#### THE PATTERN OF ATTITUDES

The relative proportions of favorable, neutral, and unfavorable references (totals for the ten years measured) are presented in Table 1.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The techniques of content analysis are best set forth in Irving L. Janis, "The Problem of Validating Content Analysis," in H. D. Lasswell and Associates, *The Language of Politics*, New York, 1949, pp. 55-82. The data in this paper rely upon a count of references classified according to (1) "theme"—e.g. "Regulation is inefficient because of poor personnel," and (2) "Value," e.g. favorable, neutral, or unfavorable. This classification is applied to general references to regulation and seven specific measures. The unit of count is the paragraph. The material under survey consists primarily of articles and regular "departmental" features, with an occasional editorial, written by both staff and outside authors. All non-advertising material is included in the count. Over the ten-year period analyzed a change in size of the magazine occurred in 1946 which increased the relevant wordage about one-sixth. Consequently in all comparisons with previous issues a correction was made by reducing the references by approximately one-sixth. I am indebted to Mrs. Louise N. Rudowski for a careful and painstaking count of the relevant references. I am further indebted to V. O. Key for his helpful criticism and for making this study possible, and to Harold Lasswell for a number of useful suggestions.

<sup>3</sup> It may be objected that this and similar publications reflect, not the business mind, but the business-association mind. The author has interviewed twenty-five businessmen in the Connecticut area and certain discrepancies between individual businessmen and Association spokesmen are revealed. In broad outline, however, a similar mental complexion is certainly evident, and the conclusions stated in this article are supported by the interview data.

<sup>4</sup> We are here quantifying a qualitative concept—"favor," "approve." This implies no absolute standard and is in no way exhaustive. Men may pack into a single statement as much resentment

For those who are not specialists in economic regulation, the content of the discussion on these measures in *Connecticut Industry* may not sustain interest. Consequently, a few conclusions are presented in abbreviated and, perhaps, somewhat didactic form:

1. Regulation of labor relations (National Labor Relations Act of 1935) was the most disliked of all regulatory measures and was considered the New Deal's crowning assault upon business. Analysis of the detailed arguments indicates that the principal cause of this dislike was that the measure reduced business power *vis à vis* another, and previously inferior, social group.

2. The second most disliked theme was regulation "in general," the idea of regulation, devoid of reference to specific measures. Since, except for labor relations regulation, this was more disliked than the specific measures, it seems to follow a familiar pattern wherein generalities portray a value scale different from the specific elements which may be subsumed under the general categories. Here reaction often stems from word stimuli rather than any concrete ideas about regulation.

3. Wages and hours regulation (Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938), third in order of dislike, evoked volume rather than intensity. The discussion was distinguished by interpretative material helpful in meeting the requirements of the law, rather more than other discussions.

4. The complexion of views on trade regulation (decisions of the Federal Trade Commission, Robinson-Patman Act, Fair Trade Act) compared to labor regulation, showed a more yielding and gentle nature, although here, as elsewhere, general discussion was more hostile than discussion of specific measures. The genuine ambivalence of businessmen toward these measures, stemming from the fact that they do help as well as limit business activity, creates a kind of inner mental conflict. This conflict is aggravated by the idea "we shouldn't like it, because it's government regulation, but at times it's awfully nice."

5. Discussion of anti-trust laws illustrates

as in several—though a publication is not given to such unique treatment of issues which stir people deeply. On the other hand repetition is one of many measurements of emotion and, in *Connecticut Industry*, seems to correspond closely to the depth of feeling and color of the individual phrases. On a relative basis the measurement seems justified.

considerable acceptance of the dominant ideology on "the monopoly problem," indicated by the relatively high number of favorable references. Evidently it is possible to accept more of the "non-business" liberal sentiment on this issue since the laws represent no serious limitation on Connecticut businessmen.

#### THE PATTERN OF CRITICAL THEMES

Attitudes are not, of course, defined by favor and disfavor, good and bad, alone. They have a content to them, a rationalization, perhaps, or perhaps a real and well grounded cause. Here we seek to answer the

- II. Detrimental to the public good  
fails to achieve the objective sought  
"confusion" or "fails of its purpose"  
creates unanticipated public damages  
"confusion" or "fails of its purpose"  
detrimental to recovery, prosperity, consumers, Connecticut—"other"
- III. Defective administration  
"poor personnel"  
"red tape, poor administration."

In colloquial terms, this classification means "bad for us," "bad for others," and "badly worked out." In the main, the first two classes refer to ends, the last to the

TABLE 1. PER CENT OF TOTAL REFERENCES TO REGULATORY MEASURES, CLASSIFIED AS FAVORABLE, NEUTRAL, AND UNFAVORABLE

Reference	Favorable		Neutral		Unfavorable	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Unspecified regulation	29	7.7	21	5.6	328	81.7
Labor relations	0	0.0	11	3.7	286	96.3
Wages and hours	1	0.5	56	28.7	138	70.8
Trade practices—general	20	13.8	26	17.9	99	68.3
Robinson Patman Act	19	18.4	26	25.2	58	56.4
Fair Trade (Miller-Tydings)	32	45.5	13	19.0	24	35.5
Basing point regulation	11	20.0	10	18.2	34	61.8
OPA (1946-48)	3	10.0	5	16.6	22	73.4
Anti-trust	19	26.4	13	18.1	40	55.5
Total references to regulatory measures	134	9.1	181	13.7	1,029	77.1

question, "Upon what grounds do manufacturers criticize regulation? What are the themes of this criticism?" The data are presented below in Table 2.

An overall view of these criticisms reveals something about the character of the manufacturers' attitudes (in print) and rationalizations thereof. These various themes may be said to fall into the following groups:

- I. Deprivations for manufacturers
  - deprivation of freedom and power—"coercion" and "extensiveness"
  - deprivation of certainty and security—"uncertainty"
  - deprivation of money—"expensive to manufacturer"
  - deprivation of equity *vis à vis* other groups—"political"

means—though, of course, what is an end or a means depends on where you stand. A confusion arises with respect to distinctions of "public good" and "business deprivations" since, in the business mind, "What is good for business is good for you," the public. Thus, both these summary themes represent a kind of concern for the public, although with the "deprivational" themes the agency of public hurt is business suffering.

It is apparent that the "deprivation" group is the most important, roughly representing 50 per cent of the criticisms. The second most important summary theme deals with the failure of regulation to perform the good it was supposed to do, or its definite harm to some non-business groups—consumers, labor, Connecticut or New England,

or simply an indefinable "public." These represent about 35 per cent of the total criticisms. Finally, the attack on the instruments and methods of government is reflected in the remaining 15 per cent of the criticism.

The pattern of the individual themes indicates that manufacturers are most concerned (18.2%) with the confusion and "wrong-headedness" of the regulation. In fact, in their view, it is almost inherent in regulation that it display confusion, since it interferes with a market process which, with rare exceptions, is "known" to work better than

freedom of association to the employee and substitute democratic electoral processes for violence. In this society businessmen writing for a closed circle of other businessmen did not challenge these objectives, but, accepting their validity, said that the law was confused because it would "foment strikes," "cause trouble," "shackle labor," and put labor under John L. Lewis who sought "to become the virtual dictator of labor policies." That is, at the deeper level of basic objectives, symbols and myths, there is remarkable consensus. Ideologically we are a high consensus society. It is dangerous to attack the

TABLE 2. PER CENT OF UNFAVORABLE REFERENCES ON EACH TYPE OF REGULATION, BY SELECTED THEMES

Theme	Unspeci- fied	Labor Rel.	Wage & Hr.	Trade Reg. Genl.	Rob. Pat.	Fair Trade	Basing Point	OPA	Anti- Trust	Total
Poor personnel	13.7	9.1	4.4	0.0	8.6	0.0	0.0	18.2	10.0	8.7
Red tape, poor admin.	10.0	6.3	2.2	15.1	1.8	0.0	0.0	4.5	0.0	6.8
Political, biased	7.3	15.7	5.8	8.0	5.2	0.0	5.9	0.0	30.0	9.8
Coercive	24.0	21.7	13.0	16.1	0.0	0.0	3.0	31.8	7.5	18.0
Expensive (to mfg.)	11.3	4.9	13.0	12.1	1.8	0.0	11.8	31.8	0.0	9.5
Confused or fails of its purpose	8.2	15.7	17.4	31.2	41.5	46.0	32.2	4.5	35.0	18.2
Makes uncertainty	3.3	4.6	8.0	4.0	0.0	8.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.0
Too extensive	12.2	7.0	13.8	6.1	3.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.7
Other	9.7	15.0	22.2	7.1	37.1	46.0	47.0	9.0	17.5	16.5

regulation. Furthermore, since regulation will interfere with the market process it will have repercussions unforeseen by the regulators and possibly antithetical to their desires. Wages and hours regulation thus is likely to injure the very group it is designed to help by creating unemployment; the National Labor Relations Act, far from freeing labor, is delivering them into the hands of dictatorial labor bosses; anti-trust policy, in fact, is hurting the little fellow, etc.

The frequency of this theme suggests a feature of our culture as it relates to this regulatory problem. The proponents of regulation clearly select symbolic references which have the weight of cultural approval. For example, the National Labor Relations Act was commonly supported on the grounds that it would extend the accepted right of

stated objectives of regulation in such a society; hence, manufacturers will say the measure will not achieve these objectives, or, better, will destroy them. This is the way businessmen most frequently say "contrary to the public interest."<sup>5</sup>

Almost as prevalent, in the total picture, is the idea of "coercion" (18.0%), the rule of force, the deprivation of rights, the violation of the Constitution, the regimentation of business. Under this heading the drift of

<sup>5</sup> There seems to be a standard difference of approach between the proponents and the opponents of a measure. The proponents more often refer to the *ends* sought, usually in a *wider context*, but with more *qualifications*. The opponents refer to the means, speaking more narrowly and with fewer qualifications. See Elizabeth G. Herzog, "Patterns of Controversy," *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 13 (1949), 39-52.

the argument changes, first illustrating a faith in the Constitution as a legal and moral standard. During 1935, 1936, and 1937 the Wagner Act and regulation "in general" are often said to be unconstitutional and the idea "you can't do this" is felt to be enforceable. Later, after the Supreme Court has failed them, the standard is more a moral one, "the government should not do this," and the appeal is not to the law but to the democratic heritage which is thought to have been violated.

Of course, these measures are no more limiting in their demands than the law of fraud, libel, or breach of contract, except as they relate to cultural norms. To business men regulation seems to prohibit those activities which society should approve while laws on fraud and libel reflect their own sense of justice. When they say that the measures are coercive, therefore, they mean that they resent these restrictions more than others because the boundaries of their own customary morals are different from the boundaries drawn by the law. Degree of coercion, in this sense, represents *cultural distance* between legal norm and the businessman's mores. This view is supported by the fact that those measures which have considerable business support, the Robinson-Patman Act and Fair Trade, are never referred to as coercive and the procedures of the Federal Trade Commission are not thought to be unfair.

For the political theme (9.8%) to rise to important levels there must be an improperly seductive group who stand to gain by the regulation. For example, in relation to the OPA there is no such group except the general public, which cannot be so cited. Consequently this criticism is not made. But with the labor legislation it is easy to identify the group to whom congressmen have pandered, usually said to be the labor leaders and not labor itself. Under the Robinson-Patman Act, the small trader, the corner drug store and grocery proprietors, are thought improperly to have gained through their political strength. And under the anti-trust laws, which were relatively infrequently discussed, the improper appeal is thought to

be an attempt to secure the advantages of an attack upon "bigness," whereas the received opinion is that "there is nothing wrong with bigness as such."

Only when we come to fourth place, in order of frequency, does the cost of regulation to the manufacturer receive explicit recognition (9.5%). As business men conceive of the general regulatory problem, this occupies a relatively minor place. The term "regulation" is not equated with "cost" or "loss" as it is with the term "confusion" or even "political." Among specific measures, the National Labor Relations Act is not thought to impose much of an expense burden upon manufacturers. The increased legal fees or personal management costs are almost never mentioned. The idea that this legislation is indirectly responsible for higher labor costs finds some expression but it is a minor theme. In major emphasis, therefore, it is not deprivation of material things which has so incensed managers over this and other measures, it is deprivation of power and a sense that the "proper" order of things has been violated.

Two closely related themes "poor personnel" (8.7%) and "red tape and poor administration" (6.8%) together reflect the businessman's opinion of public administration. The view that personnel is poor is, in reality, a stereotype of the bureaucrat, a man who seeks security and low pay rather than brave the hazards of business in search of high rewards.<sup>6</sup> It is often associated with other criticisms—such as bias, or confusion—but is distinguished on the grounds that it applies to the administrators, not the law and not the system of administration. Aside from the OPA, which is a special case of the murder of a measure, the highest per cent of references of this type is under the "unspecified" category (13.7%)—a fact

<sup>6</sup> In the author's interviews with businessmen, this pattern was followed with little variation: civil servants "in general" were held in low esteem, but the inspectors and tax collectors known personally to the interviewer were "decent" and "honest" and "competent in their jobs." See also L. D. White, *The Prestige Value of Public Employment*, revised edition, Chicago, 1932.

which supports the view that this is a stereotype which bears only a distant relation to what men say about specific public servants or the actual men in the government service they have seen at work.

#### THE DECLINE OF CRITICAL REFERENCES

The changing proportions of unfavorable to neutral and favorable references to all

measure proportion of favorable to unfavorable comments, since the National Labor Relations Act in the entire ten years never received a favorable comment (the Taft-Hartley Act received only 20 in 1947 and 1948) and the Fair Labor Standards Act received only one favorable comment during this time. They measure, instead, changing sentiment by indicating those years when

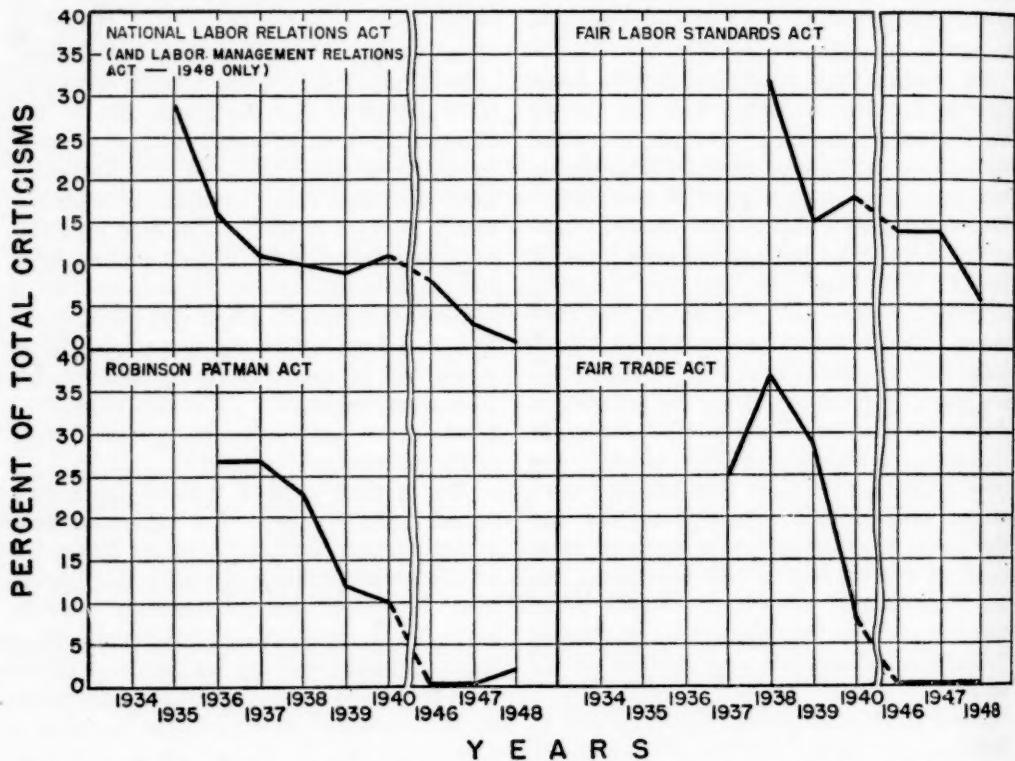


FIGURE 1. Per Cent of Total Criticisms of National Labor Relations Act, Fair Labor Standards Act, Robinson-Patman Act, and Fair Trade Act Made in Each Year, 1934-1940, 1946-1948

of the measures analyzed shows a marked and reasonably uniform downward adjustment from the peak of disaffection in 1935 (88 per cent unfavorable) when a social security law and tax compounded the evils of the National Labor Relations Act, to a low in 1948 (48 per cent unfavorable). An even more indicative measure of the adaptive process is offered by the record of criticism of four specific measures enacted during the time period under analysis. The data are presented in Figure 1. These data do not

criticism was most frequent. Consequently they are a joint measure of interest and attitude. Even as such, however, it seems remarkable that criticism should fall away so quickly and so uniformly in spite of the vicissitudes of administration.

The measurement of adaptation which relies on the per cent of total (10 years) critical references made in each year reveals how a decline in verbal stimuli, regardless of a relatively constant objective situation, may create a different opinion environment

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for businessmen. Deviant positions may then begin to appear (note the rise of favorable views of regulation from 8 to 19 per cent in 1948), and the issues merge into the background of once great historical conflicts.

#### THE CHANGING PATTERN OF CRITICISM

Although the entire number of critical references has declined over the period under examination and the tenor of those criticisms that are made is generally less strident, not all critical themes have declined in the same proportion. It is this difference in proportion which is of interest, for it indicates those criticisms which, having been winnowed through the New Deal years, now persist as a more stable element.

Three of the criticisms are declining in relative importance: "poor personnel," "red tape and poor administration," and "political and biased." These are the themes which cast a reflection on government, its administrators and its legislators. This may mean, therefore, a kind of rapprochement between the two institutions—business and government, a greater willingness on the part of business to accept the procedures and the personnel which are characteristic of governments the world over. Businessmen may have decided, perhaps unconsciously, that it is possible for administrative formula to vary, for good men to be selected through civil service procedures, for procedural caution to replace boldness without disaster, and even for legislators to follow the lure of the vote without bringing the American Way crashing around their heads.

Two themes seem to be rising in relative importance: the "uncertainty" theme and the "confusion" theme. The argument that regulation creates uncertainty took a sharp increase after the war, when there was considerable uncertainty in any event, particularly with respect to prices and the depression which failed to materialize at the time expected. This may be the cause of this increased feeling of uncertainty due to regulation. Certainly it cannot be due to an increased tempo of new legislation.

Of the two, "confusion" is the more im-

portant and demonstrates a more marked relative increase. In this thematic development there is a continuous increase in every year except one, 1937, when a recession from the 1936 flood waters of criticism of this sort was inevitable.

A picture of the changing complexion of criticism in the summary terms used above—"deprivations," "public detriment," and "poor administration"—is given in Figure 2.<sup>7</sup> This Figure reveals that, although the sense of injustice for business *vis-à-vis* other groups has declined over the years, the general deprivational themes usually comprise about the same proportion of the criticism—45 to 50 per cent (except in 1936). On the other hand the proportion of "poor administration" themes has declined in a marked fashion, as noted, while the "public detriment" themes have increased from around 17 to over 40 per cent.

The significance of this analysis (which may be questionable in detail but in broad outline will bear considerable weight) lies in two directions: (1) Businessmen are focusing less on means (a customary feature of opposition statements—see note 5 above) and more on the ends and results of regulation. (2) Businessmen are shifting to an approach with greater political sophistication. In championing the needs of consumers, labor (as opposed to labor leaders), Connecticut, "the little fellow" or simply "the public" they have adopted a more positive and more popular basis for criticism.

This analysis is in conformity with the general increase in references to "free enterprise" or favorable comments on the "market system" or the "American way" and illustrates several changed facets in the business mind. For one thing, such a eulogy is easier to sustain in a period when business is performing its function and offering a high level of production. It is easier to say these things; it is easier to expect them to be believed. Thus, this is partially a measure of a rising self-confidence among businessmen, a revived belief in their mis-

<sup>7</sup> Figure 2 is derived from the data provided in Table 3 below.

sion and capacity to fill a role of leadership. It is this, in addition to a planned campaign to win back the American people to an earlier and sounder faith.

Three classifications were selected: (1) "necessary," i.e. in the public interest though not necessarily in the interest of businessmen, a kind of resigned acceptance of regu-

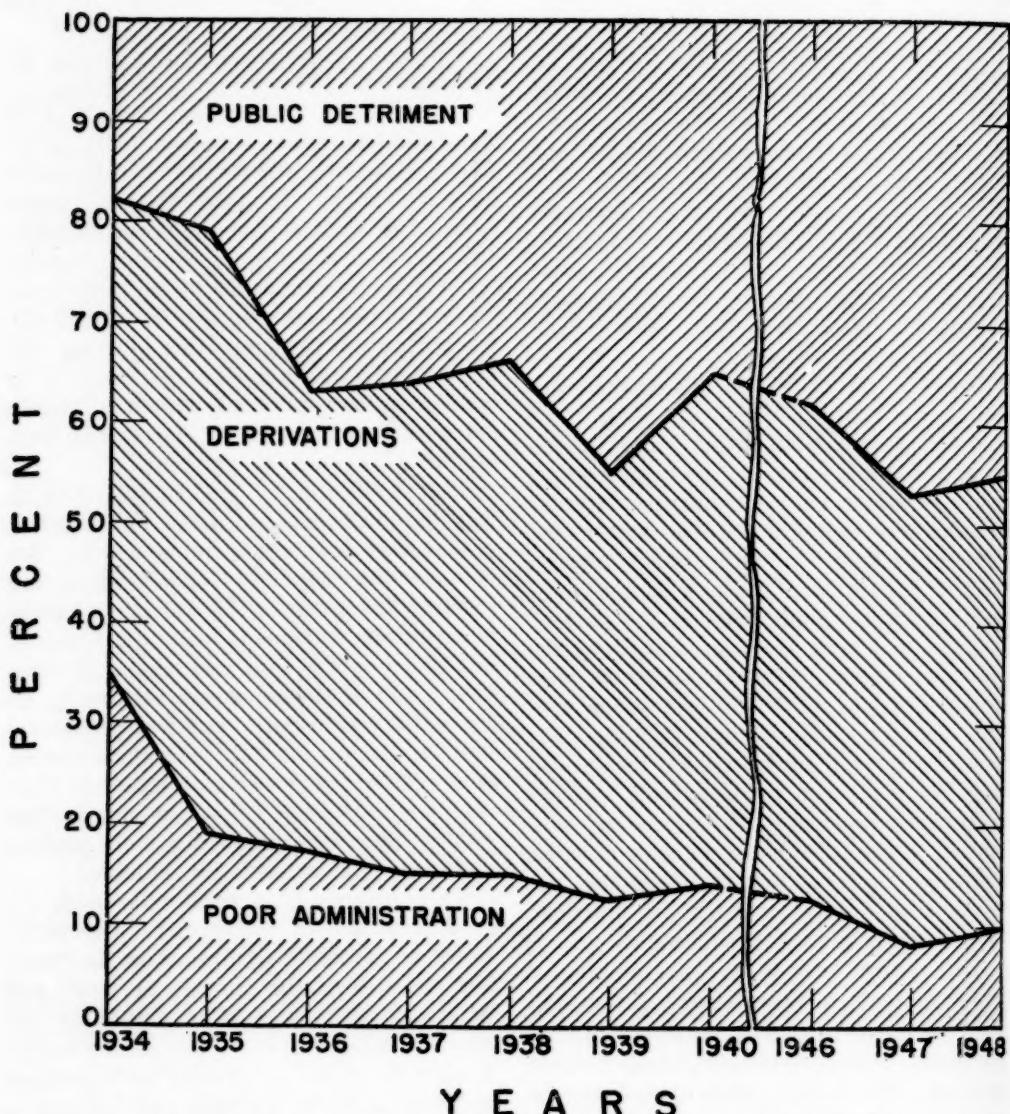


FIGURE 2. Changing Proportions of Summary Themes Critical of Regulation, 1934-1940, 1946-1948

#### THE PATTERN OF APPROVAL

Even though only 9.1 per cent of all references to regulation may be classified as favorable, it is of some interest to determine what themes of approval were stressed.

lation, often because a marginal group of businessmen, by their malpractice, had made it necessary. (2) "Good for business," a positive approval of the measure on the basis of its benefits to businessmen. (3)

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"Efficient," references to the method of administering regulation and the manner in which it was carried out, even in the case of an unpalatable measure. The data are given in Table 4.

absence of important references to efficiency in government is indicative of the general (though lessening)<sup>8</sup> contempt which businessmen have for government procedures. Only those measures for which there is some

TABLE 3

a. NUMBER OF REFERENCES TO SELECTED TYPES OF REGULATION 1934-1940 AND 1946-1948 BY TYPE OF REFERENCE\*

Reference	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1946	1947	1948
Total Favorable	10	11	10	22	19	14	12	8	9	12
Total Neutral	9	13	14	17	17	29	26	20	21	16
Total Unfavorable	51	157	127	122	146	82	91	87	73	49
Total References	70	181	151	161	182	125	129	115	103	77

b. NUMBER AND PER CENT OF UNFAVORABLE REFERENCES 1934-1940 AND 1946-1948 BY SELECTED THEMES

	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1946	1947	1948
	No. %									
Public Detriment	9 18	33 21	47 37	44 36	49 34	36 44	31 34	33 38	34 47	22 45
Deprivations	24 47	94 60	58 46	60 49	75 51	39 48	47 52	43 49	33 45	22 45
Poor										
Administration	18 35	30 19	22 17	18 15	22 15	7 8	13 14	11 13	6 8	5 10

\* Totals in this table differ slightly from those in Tables 1 and 4 because OPA and antitrust are here omitted. Also, in the chronological tables the figures for later years are discounted to allow for the increased size of the magazine.

TABLE 4. TOTAL FAVORABLE VIEWS TOWARD REGULATION, BY TYPE OF REFERENCE

References	Neces- sary	Good for Business	Effi- cient	Total
Unspecified regulation	19	10	0	29
Labor relations	0	0	0	0
Wages and hours	1	0	0	1
Trade practices—general	7	11	2	20
Robinson-Patman	6	12	1	19
Fair Trade	14	17	1	32
Basing Point	8	3	0	11
Anti-trust	17	1	1	19
OPA	3	0	0	3
Total	75	54	5	134
Per cent	56.0	40.2	3.8	100.0

This complexion of favorable references indicates that when businessmen favor regulation it is done in terms which reflect concern for the general welfare more than self-interest, although self-interest is a strong minor theme. On the other hand, the

other support are thought to be efficiently administered to any extent at all, a fact which suggests again that men do not readily divorce their ideas of efficiency and substantive approval of what is being done. Efficiency, of course, is a word of enormous value content in the American language and it is no mere slight to be regarded as inefficient. For businessmen, the rationale of whose system rests heavily upon this concept of superior efficiency, this differential between government and business is basic to a belief in "The American Way."

#### THE CHANGING PATTERN OF APPROVAL

The salient features of this changing pattern of approval and neutral references relate to the long term trend and the major shifts during the period. In general, there seems to be no over-all long term trend toward favorable references to government

<sup>8</sup> See Figure 2, above.

regulation, even of the "necessary but regrettable" type. Neither in absolute terms nor in frequency relative to total references does the pattern show an increase; indeed, the deviation is such that no trend line would be significant. But, on the other hand, the number of neutral references does show something of a long term increase, and the relative frequency has a marked upward trend. Thus, the emphasis of the Association, so far as it is reflected in *Connecticut Industry*, has shifted somewhat from giving orientation for membership opinion to giving guidance for membership understanding of the law.

#### THE POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR ECONOMIC REGULATION

It is only recently that the ideological and cultural features of a regulatory situation have been scientifically studied, notably as applied to labor-management relations and to the government of special ethnic groups. The need for such study is no less great in regulating businessmen, and, although the opportunities for control are somewhat infrequent, the development of content analysis and improved interview techniques does permit work along these lines. Therefore, both the substantive knowledge of the business mind outlined above and the technique of content analysis here employed may suggest to the regulatory administrator methods of improving regulation and reducing business-government friction.

**Deprivations.** The expression of criticisms of regulation, of course, tends to couch the complaint in terms which imply a public interest. Hence it is useful to identify what appear to be the "real" grounds of dissatisfaction. In general these may be said to include the following, in order of emotional attachment:

1. Deprivation of power with respect to an organized opposing economic force.
2. Deprivation of freedom to manage one's own economic affairs.
3. Deprivation of equity with respect to other social groups.

4. Deprivation of money or the opportunity to make money.

5. Deprivation of certainty and security in an uncontrollable environment.

This is of more than idle interest to administrators who seek to adjust their policies to realize a maximum of harmony between regulators and regulated. To deal with the underlying grievances, and not with the stated criticisms alone, is to keep in touch with reality.

**Critical Themes.** There is value for the administrator in anticipating themes of criticism, even though unrelated to the real deprivations involved. As a possible guide to several of these themes a few of the covert causes may be mentioned:

1. "The regulation is confused or fails of its purpose." This theme is most likely to appear where there is weight of cultural or business approval for the measure which makes a frontal attack difficult or inadvisable. The prevalence of this theme indicates a broad area of consensus where ultimate objectives are immune from attack.

2. "The regulation is political or biased." This theme is likely to appear where there is a strong organized group who have demanded the measure and are rivals of the industry or segment regulated. It does not appear, for example, where the beneficiary is considered to be the consuming public.

3. "The regulation is coercive and arbitrary." This theme is likely to appear wherever there is considerable cultural distance between the requirements of the law and the normal mores of the business group. It is more likely to appear in relation to labor legislation than in trade-practices regulation for this reason.

4. "The administration of the law and its personnel are inferior." This is integral to attitudes on the substance of the law and varies with relative disfavor. It is, in general, a declining theme and may not appear as important in future regulatory situations.

**Content Analysis and the Adaptive Process.** At this point it is possible to suggest, although tentatively, certain administrative uses of content analysis techniques. Such techniques might be employed to help the administrator gauge the relative speed of the adaptive process in terms of the decline

of hostile references. Both the National Labor Relations Act and the Fair Labor Standards Act experienced a fifty per cent decline in hostile references in the second year, while the Robinson Patman Act and the Fair Trade Act showed either no decline or an actual rise in hostile references in the second year (whereupon their "profile of rejection" does decline sharply).<sup>9</sup> With greater knowledge of the meaning of this profile, gained from experience with its use, an administrator would be in possession of a sensitive instrument for measuring the changing attitudes of those men he seeks to control.

It is possible, therefore, to consider an administrator, partially guided by this index, timing his rulings and enforcement program to permit assimilation of each previous measure before bringing forth a new one. This is at once a problem of knowledge and emotions—an understanding by each businessman of where he stands with respect to the law (and so an increment of certainty) and a reduction of the resentment characteristic of the first phase of any regulation. Administrators today, for example, raise their standards of compliance as laws become familiar to businessmen. To a large extent that is based upon violation statistics or general impressions. Content analysis

offers a useful supplementary tool for this problem of timing.

*Business Associations and Business "Friends."* The administrator should watch for two phenomena which may tell him something about his success in winning over the regulated group. In the first place the rise of neutral references in the association press will indicate that the associations are moving from an opinion-orientation pattern to a pattern of technical guidance. This may be encouraged and is useful to the administrator as well as the individual businessman who seeks to adapt to the law.

In the second place, with respect to certain measures, there may occur a rise in favorable references, which will indicate that the friends of the regulatory measure find a sufficiently amorphous climate of opinion to permit tentative expressions of approval. In this way, the ground is prepared for use of these "friends" by the administrator in persuading others—something which they, being businessmen, can do much more effectively than he.

To glance, finally, at the more general implications of these findings, there appears evidence that a negative business attitude is not cumulative, that society need not fear an irreconcilable disaffection of the business group, and that, proceeding on a pragmatic basis, we can have both reform and a high degree of consensus.

<sup>9</sup> See Figure 1, above.

## GROUP RELATIONS AS A VARIABLE IN COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH\*

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Mass media studies have, on the whole, tended to conceive of the audience as a series of discrete individuals characterized by a variety of personal attributes. Actually, however, this conception is oversimplified: in receiving the message, any given person in the audience reacts not merely as an isolated personality but also as a member of the various groups to which he belongs and with which he communicates. This paper offers preliminary evidence that such oversimplification may well have served to obscure a major set of factors governing audience response. It suggests certain objectives which, if considered in the planning of future research, might lead to a more rounded understanding of mass media influence and of the interplay between social values and reference groups which is basic to this influence.

The present evidence that group relations are important to an understanding of mass media audiences, at least among the adolescents and pre-adolescents who are our present subjects, arises from early results of a research program now under way at Rutgers University.<sup>1</sup> We find that those who are closely integrated into friendship groups do tend to differ from those who are relatively isolated from their peers. This difference appears at two levels. In the first place, the

less peer-oriented child is apt to select different kinds of radio programs or to read different kinds of comic books. In the second place, the child who does not belong to peer groups, even when he does read or listen to the same thing as the peer-oriented child, often puts a different interpretation on it, likes it for different reasons, or extracts from it a different set of underlying values. This seems to throw an entirely new light on the problem of media selection and impact, which are ordinarily analyzed only in relation to such variables as sex, age, economic status, and other *individual*, as distinct from *group*, attributes.<sup>2</sup>

The first evidences that group relations are, in fact, an important variable in studying mass media audiences appeared in our initial pilot study. Using detailed interviews with some 50 children in a New York City progressive school, this first study was made in order to develop empirically a specific conceptual framework for a program of research oriented to groups, as well as to the individuals, within the audience. Analysis of these first interviews suggested that, at any given age, there is a considerable difference in mass media relations, as well as in general activities and interests, between the children whose verbal communications are primarily with their peers and other children who tend to discuss their problems mainly with adults. To take one example, the child who was not peer-oriented seemed fascinated yet terrified by the violence in the *Lone Ranger* comics, whereas the child

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<sup>1</sup> Financed by Rutgers University and the American Jewish Committee. Grateful acknowledgment is hereby made to the principals, teachers, and students of the New Lincoln School, New York City, and the Public Schools of Metuchen, N. J., for the cooperation which made this research possible.

<sup>2</sup> There are no indications in the data as to whether this relationship between group orientation and mass media reception is causal in nature. It is, of course, possible that certain personal attributes may lead both to the distinctive patterns of communications behavior and to patterns of association.

who talked over his comic reading and "played guns" with his peers still liked "westerns," but suffered no nightmares from them. This suggested that the internal definition of program content might well be markedly affected by the individual's group orientation; and, more specifically, that the definition of content prevalent among peer-oriented children, as contrasted with the adult-oriented, might be more closely in line with individual achievement and/or the realities of everyday behavior. From this emerged, as a framework for use in further analysis, the concept of the *intercommunicating group*, that is, the group within which there is an interpersonal, verbal exchange of ideas on common problems, and of the *communications score*<sup>3</sup> used to measure the degree to which any given individual belongs to such groups.

In order to develop this concept and its implications, the second experimental phase of the research was then undertaken among 400 children in a New Jersey public school. One part of the interview, which in general follows the complex outline developed during the pilot study, includes a long series of questions designed to isolate the patterns of the many intercommunicating peer groups. These questions ask, in effect, whom do you talk your problems over with, enumerating a list of some twenty specific problems ranging from what to wear to a party and what movie to attend, to how you get along with people and the fear that something terrible might happen to you. Individual answers vary greatly, from "Nobody, I'd keep it to myself," to long lists of parents, sibling, and classmates. In order to rate each child according to the overall pattern of his group communications, he was then given a peer inter-communication score, based on (a) the number of times he mentions peers in answer to these questions

and (b) the number of times he himself is mentioned by his peers. This allowed us to differentiate between the relatively high and the relatively low in both the transmission and reception of peer communications on common problems.

Comparisons between high and low communicators indicate, first, that the highs, as one would expect from their very definition, are not only more apt to report actual association with their peers, but are also more apt to belong to clubs, more often mentioned by other children as being the most popular, more often selected as leaders of the group, and generally show a higher degree of peer orientation.

Over and beyond this, study of the activities, interests, and concerns of the high communicators as compared with the low throws light on the nature of the "youth culture" to which this galaxy of peer groups contributes and to which the highs clearly tend to adhere. These findings reflect youth culture patterns, predominant among the high communicators, much as Talcott Parsons describes them in his "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States,"<sup>4</sup> in terms of the irresponsible desire to "have a good time," with the accent on humor, comedy, fads and crazes, popular music and "teen-age stuff"; in terms of social activities in company with the opposite sex; in athletic prowess for boys and glamor for girls; and in the stereotype of the all-round "swell guy," as compared with the specialist of the adult world. The data suggest that certain success values from the adult culture seem also to be taken over into the youth pattern, but in so modified a form that they appear to have been mediated through the group until adult conflicts tend to disappear from them and the goals seem feasible and attainable. In general, there are many indications throughout the data which suggest that the high communicators tend to experience the content of mass media in terms of its immediate function for group life. An important criterion of excellence, for them, has to do with practical

<sup>3</sup> This is only one of three scores under experimentation. The other two deal with the child's *actual associations* and with his *wished-for associations*. The communications score seems to have a special pertinence for mass media studies, since the network of interpersonal communications potentially serves as an extension of the media channel itself.

<sup>4</sup> *American Sociological Review*, 7 (October, 1942), 604-616.

tical usefulness in the day-by-day routines of group living within the youth culture.

One example of this tendency for the high communicators to adhere relatively strongly to the patterns of the youth culture may be seen in the attitudes of respondents toward Jackie Robinson, the Negro baseball hero. In line with the strong sports interest of the high communicators, he is liked by 86% of the high boys, as against only 58% of the low. Moreover, there is further striking evidence of the contrast in interest between the two segments in their reasons expressed for liking him. High communicators are apt to say:

"He's a good baseball player"—"a hard hitter"—"fast"—"can steal bases."

Yet, while the highs, in this example, tend to value the immediate and practical aspects of baseball as such, the lows, who have been less successful than others in achieving status in their own group, have found it easier to identify with Jackie as the underdog than as the baseball hero. Lows are more apt than highs to make such comments as:

"I like him for what he had to do to get into the big leagues. They didn't want a colored man at first."

We are inclined to sum up these predominant tendencies of the high communicators in the concept of *mediocrity*, as one essential goal of the youth culture, since basically all peer-oriented youths aspire to be like each other, on a level which the majority can reach. Our respondents, when asked what makes a girl or boy popular, describe an all-round youth who above all shuns uniqueness: "smart, but not too smart," "pretty, but not too pretty," "friendly," "gets along well with everybody." Such a goal, for those who are once accepted into the youth culture groups, is relatively easy of achievement. Moreover, the means for arriving at the goal appear, in these findings, to be fairly clearly defined (as just being with the gang, enjoyment of humorous media figures, keeping up with the big league games and with the latest tunes, etc.). In-

deed, satisfactions from goals achieved seem to be common fare, along with satisfactions from the socially accepted means of striving for this achievement. One evidence of such satisfaction lies in the finding that the high communicators, already surrounded as they are by peers, can think of no better companions when asked to imagine ideal conditions.

In this connection, considerable further study might well be given to the *process* by which these high communicators apparently succeed in bringing the values superimposed by the adult culture into line with realistic every-day achievement at the adolescent level. Certain elements in this process are, by inference, already apparent. The implicit norm of mediocrity, which apparently derives originally not so much from individually developed values as from group interaction, gradually becomes a motivated norm as individuals learn that, if they seem to depart too far from it, they will be penalized by the group. The apparent *social* function of this norm is to maintain the group in a state of relative equilibrium by preventing large disparities in status. The *personal* function for the members of the group is to provide personality and achievement standards which are fairly easy of attainment; while some variation in these standards is allowed, the range of this variation is so narrowed that not too many members of the group can regard themselves as sub-standard.

Over against this tendency of the high communicators to belong to, and be content with, their own culture-within-a-culture, and to accept values which are fairly possible of achievement, the low communicators are relatively more apt to show quite different tendencies. In the first place, they tend to be adult-rather than peer-oriented. As compared with the highs, a larger share of their communications are with adults, and they are more apt to name adults when asked with whom they would like to associate.

In the second place, in contrast with the highs who seem to be fairly homogeneous in many of the aspects under study, the low

communicating segment is composed of divergent elements, containing not only the extreme isolates, but also some of the peer group leaders; not only those rejected by the peer groups as too immature, but also those who have outgrown their peers and seek communication with adults as equals; not only those who tend to think in far-flung abstractions, but also those who show anxiety over, and ritualistic observance of, the minute details of living which would be taken for granted by the highs. This heterogeneity, as it is expressed in the value patterns predominant among the lows, seems to confirm the usefulness of a conceptual scheme outlined by Robert Merton in his *Social Theory and Social Structure*.<sup>5</sup> His scheme, posited as it is upon the disparity in our adult culture between its evanescent central goal, success, and the institutional means for arriving at this goal, develops a typology of the modes of individual adaptation to the resultant *anomie*. This typology includes conformity by the individual to both ends and means as culturally approved, on the one hand, and, on the other, a series of modes of deviant adaptation which involve rejection of the culturally determined goals, or the means, or both.

As we have seen, the youth culture, through its goal of mediocrity and its clearly-accepted rules for achieving this goal, seems to set up its own pattern of values which evades this normlessness as Merton describes it. Yet, if our high communicators tend to emulate this simpler pattern, our lows, on the other hand, show much more marked inclination toward the adult pattern, reflecting both its conflicts and its *anomie*. Indeed, the modes of adaptation which tend to characterize the lows might be classified, through a modification of Merton's scheme, into five types:

First, *conformity to the adult culture*, in which the child appears to have internalized both the cultural goals and the institutionalized means of the adult world and to accept and conform to them, difficult though

they may be to reconcile. Typical of this mode is the boy who says, "I'd like first of all to be a success. I want always to be trying to reach a goal"; or the girl who has plenty of peer friends but regards her mother as the most acceptable companion.

A second mode of adaptation found more often among our low communicators is *innovation*, in which the individual accepts the culturally determined goal but rejects the institutionalized means for arriving at it. In adult behavior, as it is often admired by our lows, this may take the form of "sharp" business practices, crime, dependence on "luck" or chance, and other means outside the mores. Lows are more apt than highs to prefer the crook to the hero, to fancy media figures who rely on magic, determinism, or some other shortcut to the desired goal of success or power or wealth. It is the lows who are more apt to say of the fabulous Lone Ranger, for instance, "Sometimes you *think* he's going to get killed. You *think* he's dead. But in the end he always is saved and gets everything that got stole by the bad men."

A third mode of adaptation which is apparently more pronounced among the lows is *ritualism*, which again arises from a situation in which the child, deprived even of the bulwark of a peer group, may well be frequently overcome by the enormity of adult standards in the face of his personal inability to attain them. In this form of adaptation, the individual observes all the institutionalized means for attaining the goals, often clinging feverishly to accepted routines, while markedly reducing the level of his private goals to a point where they *seem* attainable. Presumably because original aspirations completely outran their possible realization, the level of expressed aspiration of many of our low communicators tends to be pathetically more modest than that of the highs. When asked whom they admire most, or who they would like to be if they could be anybody at all for a week, the lows are far less daring about naming glamorous figures from public life, history or fiction, and tend to cling to persons from

<sup>5</sup> Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949.

their first-hand acquaintance. This modification of goals frequently takes the form of day-dreaming about, or wishing for, simple objects or activities which are presumably taken for granted in the youth culture as parts of the every-day round, or which ordinarily serve as means rather than ends. Particularly among the younger children, the lows, far more than the highs, report day-dreams about such home-spun fantasies as playing outside, bicycling, swimming, going home to play baseball. At the extreme pole is the child who, when asked to name any three wishes in the world, said, "I'd like a pair of roller skates—that's all."

A fourth mode of adaptation particularly characteristic of the fantasy life of the lows is *retreatism*, in which the individual, feeling himself defeated, abandons both the goals and the means as socially accepted. He is, in the adult world, the outcast from society, the vagabond, the drunkard, the escapist. Among the children, this is apt to take the form of an entrancement with Bugs Bunny, Mickey Mouse, and similar little animal figures, who apparently serve to bolster morale among the lows wherever *anomie* is greatest. These little figures relinquish both the ends and the means of ordinary living and retire into a world of their own. Better liked by younger children in the sample, the extreme preference is among the lows, of whom 80% like little animal comics, as compared with 55% of the highs. Bugs Bunny, for instance, who offers the perfect stereotype of one who retreats from all the adult means-ends conventions and gets away with it, is liked by 92% of the lows as compared with 75% of the highs among the younger children. Retreatism is doubtless easiest to bear when imputed to a rabbit!

A fifth mode, *rebellion*, in which the individual not only rejects the accepted goals and means but wants to substitute new values for them, occurs in rare instances, mainly among the lows. It may well be that this form does not exist among adolescents in the same sense or to the same degree that it does among adults, because

a whole new set of values is already available within the youth culture for the rebellious child.

To establish fully the existence of such a framework among adolescents would open the door to a new field of implications. The data from our experimental study, if viewed in further detail, do give some evidence of the main elements of a framework of this sort; although it must be kept in mind that the materials have to do with attitudes, even with fantasies, as well as with behavior; and that the data are fragmentary, based on small samples, and still in process of analysis. Present indications, dependent of course upon much further research, are, for example:

First, in terms of applications, that studies such as the present one might be used to define the journalistic appeals which will have most impact on individuals who are either highly oriented to peers or to adults; as well as on individuals following the various adaptation patterns suggested here. Conversely, such studies may throw considerable light upon the popular controversies centering around our "media-made" children.

Second, that an apparently distinctive characteristic of the peer-group culture is the mediocrity norm, which works to level off aspirations and to modify individual tendencies toward excellence. It thus becomes important to discover the conditions under which our present high communicators either divorce themselves from peer groups and orient themselves to other value patterns, or continue to conform to the mediocrity norm.

Third, that, since many elements of the adult types of adaptation to the values of our culture are already to be found among adolescents and pre-adolescents, a study of these same subjects during the transition to adulthood might be used to determine the extent to which these early tendencies may be forerunners of later conformist or deviant behavior. If indeed it should prove that deviant value patterns can be isolated at this formulative stage, the resultant im-

lications would be many. This would lead us to look for the social forces behind conformist or deviant behavior at the adolescent, as well as at the adult, level. The degree to which the parents (and we find that, of these, the mother is the chief communicator) transmit to the child cultural goals which are possible of achievement by him, through means available at his social level, may already have important bearing on his ability to conform, first to the youth culture, and later to the adult culture. Since it is self-evident that success goals and means show greatest disparity among the lower socio-economic classes of our society, it may be no accident that we find our low communicators preponderant among the less privileged classes.

Finally, until there has been opportunity to explore such possible implications, our present experimental research is adequate to suggest that group relations constitute an important variable in communications research, and should be further tested for its possible bearing on the course of research in this field. For example:

1. The *definition* of the "communications" concept might, in aiming at a more rounded understanding, be very broadly stated to include:

- both mass media communication and interpersonal communication, hypothesizing that the two are closely interlocked;
- both the specific messages transmitted and the basic values or frames of reference underlying these messages;
- both the degree and nature of initial impact of the message and its ultimate influence.

2. The *objectives* of research programs in this field might also be stated broadly, so as to take into consideration such ultimate aims as:

A. To define the relation between the pattern of *mass media* interest, on the one hand, and the pattern of *interpersonal communication channels*, on the other. Mass media channels are clearly extended and proliferated through interpersonal communications. Moreover,

kinds of media materials preferred, as well as reasons for such preference, are hypothesized as being affected by the individual's group affiliations. What is the nature and degree of this relationship?

B. To define the content of communications, both through mass media and interpersonal channels, in terms of the underlying *values or frames of reference*.<sup>6</sup> What are the respective functions of mass media and of interpersonal communication in (a) transmitting values and (b) helping the individual to internalize them and put them to work?

More specifically, some questions which might be studied are:

To what extent are the values of mass media messages accepted, rejected, or distorted in line with the values of the significant reference groups to which the recipient belongs or to which he aspires? To what extent and under what conditions does interpersonal communication, which implies shared frames of reference, also imply the same goals and values? And, in the case of youth communications, to what extent are the value patterns of adolescents indicative of the values which they will later accept as adults? Is there a tendency to carry over into adulthood the mediocrity patterns of the peer-oriented adolescent or the deviant patterns of many of the adult-oriented adolescents?

C. To discover the relation between *social structure and mobility*, on the one hand, and *communications patterns*, on the other.<sup>6</sup> Since groups are assumed to be an integral part of the process of communication, it becomes important to determine which elements in social structure operate toward or away from the effective transmission or perpetuation of values; and, in turn, what is the effect of this communication of values upon the social structure itself.

More specifically, some questions which might be studied are:

To what extent is group mobility induced

<sup>6</sup> Cf. formulation of reference group theory in Robert K. Merton and Alice Kitt, "Reference Group Theory in the American Soldier," in *Continuities in Social Research: Studies in the Scope and Method of the "American Soldier,"* Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950.

by emulation of the values of the group aspired to? What is the social position and personality type of those members of one group who orient themselves positively toward the values of another group to which they aspire? What is the effect of orientation to the values of a new group on (a) the value patterns of the mobile individual, (b) the values of the group which he is now rejecting, and (c) the overall values of the larger social system

within which the changed orientation occurs?

These are only some of the kinds of implications and questions raised by the hypothesis that group relations are an important variable in communications research, and by the suggestion that future research in this field seek for a more basic understanding of the role of social groups in the transmission of values.

## ROLE-PLAYING VS. ROLE-TAKING: AN APPEAL FOR CLARIFICATION

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**I**t appears that two great concepts are in imminent danger of being lost through confusion. Three recent texts in social psychology, all of them unusually good, have dangerously confused the sociological concept of role-playing with the psychological concept of role-taking.<sup>1</sup>

In order to clarify the issue, let us specify the traditional meanings of the terms involved.

1. *Role*. Every person in every society holds or occupies certain positions or statuses—parent, educator, healer, public servant, etc. With every social position there are socially prescribed duties or functions to be performed, and rights to be enjoyed. These functions are called “social roles” or just “roles.” Every role involves a whole system of behaviors more or less expected and enforced by various groups. We may define role, then, as a socially prescribed way of behaving in particular situations for any person occupying a given social position or status. A role represents what a person is supposed to do in a given situation by virtue of the social position he holds.

2. *Role-Playing*. This term refers to performing the above functions. It is important to note that the term refers to *behavior, performance, conduct, overt activity*. A woman occupying the position or status of parent is socially expected to *play the role* of mother, involving a whole series of behaviors—protecting the child, feeding it, dressing it, training it, loving it, etc. These are called role behaviors. People thus perform the roles of mother, father, son, daughter, milkman, policeman, cowboy, gangster, etc., in all sorts of situations.

3. *Role-Taking*. This term, unfortunately, has nothing whatever to do with playing a role as described above. Role-taking is a term instituted by George Herbert Mead years ago at a time when social psychology was hardly more than a name for Mead's course at the University of Chicago. The term role-taking meant, for Mead, a strictly mental or cognitive or empathetic activity, not overt behavior or conduct. In Mead's usage the term refers to that phase of the symbolic process by which a person momentarily pretends to himself that he is another person, projects himself into the perceptual field of the other person, imaginatively “puts himself in the other's place,” in order that he may get an insight into the other person's probable behavior in a given situation. The

<sup>1</sup> Alfred R. Lindesmith and Anselm L. Strauss, *Social Psychology*, Dryden Press, 1949; Theodore M. Newcomb, *Social Psychology*, Dryden Press, 1950; S. Stansfeld Sargent, *Social Psychology*, Ronald Press, 1950.

purpose of this is to enable him to get the other person's "point of view" so that he can anticipate the other's behavior and then act accordingly.

It is one of the misfortunes of history that Mead used the term "role" in this connection. What he meant is easily determined by the alternate phrase he used; synonymously with the expression "taking-the-role-of-the-other" he invariably used the expression "taking-the-attitude-of-the-other." For historical reasons "role" and "attitude" had much the same meaning for Mead. No one in contemporary social psychology, however, would confuse the terms "role" and "attitude," but for Mead they represented one and the same idea. Thus the contemporary concept of role as described above has little in common with Mead's concept of "role" in his famous term "role-taking." Mead's concept means "taking" over into oneself the other's attitude, point of view, perceptual field; imagining what the other person "thinks he is supposed to do." Only in the latter sense is Mead's use of "role" related to contemporary use of the term "role."

4. *Playing-at a Role.* There is a fourth term which Mead used and which was part of common speech then as now. This term is "playing-at" a role. It represents a concept involving two processes: (1) role-taking on an elementary level and (2) *playing-at*, or pretending to *play*, some well-known role. While under certain conditions adults engage in this practice, yet the term refers almost exclusively to certain aspects of the fantasy life of children. It refers to the activity in which a child pretends he is, say, a milkman, and in which he thinks, talks and performs *like* one. The child cannot *play* this role, since he cannot occupy the appropriate position, but he can play at it, thus learning both role-taking and role-playing. "Playing-at" thus involves both the "playing" and "taking" concepts in a make-believe, playful, fictitious or fantasy form.

The fact that these three different concepts are denoted by highly similar symbols (words) is most unfortunate, for this condition not only leads to confusion, but what is worse, it leads some people to believe

that the attempt to differentiate the concepts constitutes "quibbling about words." Nothing could be further from the truth.

In order to demonstrate this, let us enumerate some of the differences between these great and increasingly useful concepts.

#### DIFFERENTIATING FACTORS

In the first place *role-playing* is a strictly sociological concept with a long history.<sup>2</sup> *Role-taking*, however, is a strictly psychological concept, also with a long history.<sup>3</sup> The symbolic process (Coutu, pp. 264 ff.) gives the human being a remarkable power; it enables him to pretend momentarily that he is another person. While he is "being" that person, i.e., acting like him verbally or empathically, or both, he gets an insight into how that person probably views a given situation. He rehearses what he believes to be the other person's attitude, point of view, perspective, perceptual field, or "role," so that when, a moment later, he returns to "being" himself, he has a good idea of how this other person will probably act in that situation, since he himself would probably have acted that way if he had continued to "be" that other person. With this new knowledge he can now sympathize with, *feel with* and as, the other person, and can thus anticipate what the other person will probably think and do, and he himself can act accordingly. *Role-taking*, then, is a psychological concept referring to a mental or cognitive process, while *role-playing* is a sociological concept referring to a social function which all people holding a particular position or status are expected to perform in overt conduct.

A second differentiating factor is that in *role-taking* one pretends he is another person; while in *role-playing* one does not pretend anything. A policeman arresting a person is not pretending; he is performing or *playing* a role expected of one holding the position of public protector.

The term "play-at" enters the confused

<sup>2</sup> Theodore M. Newcomb, *op. cit.*, p. 329.

<sup>3</sup> See Walter Coutu, *Emergent Human Nature*, Knopf, 1949, Index, p. IX.

picture in this connection. Children play-at being policemen, milkmen, mother, etc.; but they do not and cannot *play* these roles. Playing-at involves an elementary form of role-taking, the verbalized fantasy by which the child learns how to take the role of another. Here the child both imaginatively and overtly pretends he is another person—not necessarily a particular other person, but often a stereotype of some functionary. Playing-at is "make believe" or "play acting." *Playing-at* a role is not necessarily *playing-at-being* another person; it may represent playing-at performing some socially prescribed function which he cannot actually perform since he cannot at his age occupy the appropriate social position; or it may even involve playing-at being a cow pony, machine gun or airplane, with the appropriate vocalizations, sounds or noises.

A third factor differentiating the concepts of *role-taking* and *role-playing* is that role-taking is significantly and necessarily related to social distance, whereas role-playing is not.<sup>4</sup> Indeed there are conditions under which certain roles can be successfully *played* only to the extent that role-taking is inhibited. Too efficient role-taking, putting oneself in the place of one's victim, might prevent a policeman from making an arrest, a soldier from bayoneting an enemy, or a surgeon from operating on a patient. In each of these instances professional training is designed to inhibit *role-taking* ability so that the role can be properly *played*. To play the roles of physician, clergyman, professor, a person must usually be a good role-taker; to play the roles of top executive, hangman, disciplinarian often requires that a person be a poor role-taker, in appropriate situations.<sup>5</sup>

A fourth differentiating factor in these concepts is that role-taking concerns another's "role" (attitude, perspective), whereas role-playing concerns one's own role (social function). Role-taking means think-

ing and feeling like someone else—a form of projection; role-playing means acting like oneself, a form of socially expected conduct for one holding a given social position.

A fifth differentiating factor is that role-taking is primarily a communicating mechanism, whereas role-playing is only indirectly so.<sup>6</sup> Role-taking involves thinking and feeling as one believes the other person thinks and feels—a form of empathy or of what might be called synconation. Role-taking is thus clearly related to sympathy, whereas role-playing bears no necessary relation to sympathy.

While there is a good deal more to these concepts than is indicated by these five points, yet these are the traditional meanings of the terms as used by Mead and as established in a large sociological literature. Despite the unfortunate similarity of symbols by which the concepts are known, they are, nevertheless, very different constructs.

#### RECENT EVIDENCE OF CONFUSION

The three texts involved in the following criticism are among the best in social psychology, and they all represent, in one way or another, the new mode in this field. They, with the present writer's text, are the first to use these concepts in an extensive and systematic manner. That confusion of these concepts could occur in such outstanding books indicates that the concepts had not been adequately differentiated in the literature. It is hoped that this paper will contribute to this tardy differentiation.

*Newcomb.* Newcomb's book is the largest of the three and gives what is probably the most extensive and thorough-going analysis of roles and role-playing ever published. This part of his book is an excellent piece of work—but while his exhaustive analysis is concerned almost entirely with roles and *role-playing*, he mistakenly calls the process *role-taking*. In the space of 51

<sup>4</sup> Walter Couto, *op. cit.*, pp. 197, 288, 311 ff., an hypothesis recently empirically verified.

<sup>5</sup> This whole line of thinking and its relation to authority and power will be expounded in the author's forthcoming second volume. But see Couto, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 264–265, 281 ff. In these references the author gives an operational statement of what actually takes place in role-taking.

pages (283-334) the traditional usage of the term "role-taking" is violated 65 times and observed 8 times; and in the rest of the book these figures are more than doubled. In these 51 pages the *process* of role-taking is described 7 times without being given a name, and in numerous instances one or both terms (role-taking and role-playing) are used in a context in which the proper meaning cannot be determined, since it could properly be either, but certainly not both.

The traditional usage of the term "role-taking" is violated six times in the following paragraph.<sup>7</sup>

*Individual Motivation to Take [Play] Roles.* No position within a group endures unless its occupants are motivated to take [play] the role associated with that position. It will not endure, furthermore, unless other group members are motivated to encourage (or at least tolerate) that role. Both of these conditions are necessary. Such motives are acquired by interaction with group members among whom norms already exist which call for certain positions and roles. Through such interaction, individuals acquire frames of reference, respond to rewards and punishments, and learn the techniques of taking [playing] the role and of responding to others who take [play] roles. In brief, they become motivated to take [play] roles and to have others take [play] roles. (p. 284)

In the above quotation there is not a single instance of the use of "role-taking" in the sense in which George Herbert Mead used the term. Again the text says:

The role prescribed for any position is necessarily defined in relation to the roles of other people, who, of course, also hold positions. A mother cannot *perform her role* except in relation to a child . . . (p. 285)

Here the term "perform" which is synonymous with the traditional term "play" is used as if it were synonymous with "take" in the previous quotation, an obvious violation of Mead's usage.

In the following passage the term "take" is misused for "play," and this is followed by an accurate description of true role-

taking (the italicized words) but without the use of the term "role-taking":

In this chapter we shall examine more closely the ways in which individuals come to internalize social norms and take [play] their roles, more or less as prescribed . . . As an end result of this development individuals become able, in varying degrees, to *put themselves in the place of those with whom they interact*, and to treat them as persons who have attitudes of their own. (p. 301)

This practice of discussing role-playing while calling it role-taking and then suddenly giving a description of true role-taking without using the term is rather frequent, leading the reader to believe that only one concept is involved (e.g. pp. 294, 301, 302, 306, 332, 495, etc.).

In the following passage the term "plays-at" is used consistently with tradition under the heading "role-taking"; while "plays" is confusingly used for "plays-at."

*Role-Taking Depends Upon Anticipations.* During this period of absolutism, children begin to practice the prescribed roles of others in their society. The child *plays at* being a milkman, storekeeper, or mother. Quite obviously he is copying whole patterns of behavior which he has observed. The role must be *enacted* in a certain way; there is no readier source of argument among small children than different versions of the proper way of doing it—e.g. *playing [at] mother*, or *playing [at] milkman*. . . . They are commonly *enacted* in such a way as to involve interaction between himself and milkman, storekeeper, or mother. This may be either substitutively (by getting a companion to *play the part* of the child while he *plays [at]* the adult role) or alternately (taking [playing at] each role himself, one after the other). (p. 305)

In the above passage the traditionally proper concept is "play-at" (a child cannot *play* these roles), but it is denoted by all three terms—role-taking, playing-at, and role-playing. Furthermore, the heading of this section should be reversed, for anticipation depends on role-taking, not vice versa.<sup>8</sup> One cannot anticipate the behavior of another without first imaginatively taking his

<sup>7</sup> In this and the following quotations the traditional usage is placed in brackets when that usage is violated.

<sup>8</sup> Coutu, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-265.

role—putting himself in the other's place.<sup>9</sup> Role-playing, however, is dependent upon anticipation, which indicates that role-playing is dependent upon role-taking, again indicating two concepts. (This point is important for learning theory in social psychology, for it means that the child cannot perform the sociological process of role-playing until he is capable of the psychological process of role-taking in some degree.)

It is remarkable that in one passage Mead's concept of role-taking is accurately described and named and then immediately confused with role-playing.

A person who is speaking to another is also, so to speak, informing himself as to what the other is hearing. Thus he is able, in Mead's memorable phrase, to 'take the role of the other'—i.e., to put himself sufficiently in the other's place to anticipate how the other will respond. Thus the child takes [plays] a dual role, presumably for the first time, when he begins to speak—i.e., he is [playing the roles of] both speaker to others and listener to himself. (p. 307)

The roles of speaker and listener are roles the child can play, so "role-playing" is proper here, if our analysis of traditional usage is correct.

By the time he reached p. 309 Professor Newcomb apparently felt that something was wrong, for here, finding his analysis in need of Mead's concept of role-taking, he captures and uses the concept by giving it a new name, "Taking the Perspectives of Others." And he does not confuse this concept with role-playing. However, the new term is seldom used thereafter and the term "role-taking" again comes into use for both role-playing and role-taking. On p. 333 the term "take" is used nine times in accordance with tradition, and once in violation of it. This inconsistent usage, which occurs frequently (e.g., pp. 308, 312, 320, 323, 469, etc.) is what is so discouraging, for if the book always used *taking* for *playing*, correction would be relatively easy.

What we have in Newcomb, then, is (1)

<sup>9</sup> Newcomb himself says this in the quotation from p. 307, which we cite next.

an exhaustive analysis of role-playing which in most instances is unfortunately called role-taking; (2) a rather frequent reference to the role-taking process but without use of the identifying term; and (3) a few good descriptions of the role-taking process with proper use of the identifying term. But the uninitiated reader has no way of knowing which is what, when or why.

*Lindesmith and Strauss.* Unlike Newcomb's text, which is of a more or less eclectic pattern, that of Lindesmith and Strauss is definitely in the new mode of symbolic interaction. Whereas Newcomb is a psychologist, these authors are sociologists; and since they, too, confuse the concepts, it is apparent that sociologists have not in the past adequately differentiated these concepts. Both concepts found their origin and development in sociological literature.

These authors understand role-playing, and like Newcomb, often use as synonyms the words enact or enacting. Yet they use the term role-playing for role-taking, and manage to confuse the two concepts; and they often neglect to use the term role-taking when discussing the process to which the term refers. We have the strange phenomenon that whereas Newcomb discusses role-playing and calls it role-taking, Lindesmith and Strauss discuss role-taking and call it role-playing, generally speaking, in both cases.

The appropriateness of the projected *role-playing* is judged by imagining the proposed action from the standpoint of other persons involved in it. (p. 170)

What this passage says is that the appropriateness of a projected role-playing is judged by role-taking on the part of the person contemplating the particular role-playing. While there is nothing wrong in the usage here, yet there is no awareness that this passage, and most of the page, involves both concepts, and the reader is the loser. Although this description of role-taking appears on p. 170, the section entitled "Taking the Role of the Other" does not appear until p. 196, where, amazingly,

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the term is not used except in the section heading.

There is a remarkable section of three pages (pp. 172-175) entitled "Learning to *play* roles," the context of which is concerned with learning to *take* roles.

The most extreme and convincing empirical report of the way in which human children gradually learn to take into account the points of view of others has been given by Piaget. . . . The child is at first enclosed in his own point of view and sees all things from within it. His perceptions and judgments tend to be 'absolute' or egocentric because he is unaware of any other points of view and perceptions. . . . Because perspectives other than his own are not taken into account, his own perceptions appear absolute. . . . (p. 172)

This is exactly what Mead meant by "role-taking"; and it is what has been called role-taking in a vast sociological literature since Mead. There are in this three-page section eight descriptive references to the role-taking process, but the identifying term is never used; the terms used are "take into account," "take a point of view," "grasp the roles of others," "assume the perspective of others," "grasp the point of view of others," all of which are, to be sure, sound synonyms of "role-taking" or "taking the role of the other," but the reader is not told this, and is not here made familiar with the traditional term. And although the title of the section is on "playing roles," not even this term appears in the section. (Incidentally, this otherwise brilliant section supports our proposition stated earlier that role-taking ability must precede role-playing ability, an important factor in a symbolic-interactionist theory of learning.)

The next section in the book (pp. 175-176) has the title "The Linguistic Basis of Role-Playing," but as in the previous section the subject discussed is role-taking and not role-playing. The burden of this section is to indicate "that language is basic in the development of the ability to *play* roles" (p. 175), despite the fact that the long quotation from Mead given on this page points out that language is basic to role-taking ability, even to the extent of

using the expressions "taking the roles of others" and "taking different roles." In this quotation Mead also uses the term "playing-at":

The child plays at being a mother, at being a teacher, at being a policeman. . . . He has a set of stimuli which call out in himself the sort of responses they call out in others.

As we pointed out earlier, playing-at roles involves an elementary stage of role-taking primarily concerned with the fantasy life of children, as well as the overt activity of pretending to *play* certain roles which the child could not actually play. The child is playfully acting-out his own fantasy.

The authors close this section by concluding

Through his make-believe verbal play the child learns to take the role of other persons and thus learns to see his own activity from the standpoint of these others. Role-taking in play is paralleled in real-life situations by the child's grasping of actual roles played toward him by parents and other associates, and by his incorporation of certain roles into the structure of his own personality.

Thus, despite the title of the section, nothing is said about role-playing, but an excellent analysis is given of *the linguistic basis of role-taking*. In another quotation from Mead (p. 177) Lindesmith and Strauss give us a clear illustration of what Mead meant by the word "role" in his expression "role-taking":

If we contrast play with . . . an organized game, we note the essential difference that the child who plays in a game must be ready to take the attitude of everyone else involved in that game, and that these different roles must have a different relationship to each other. . . . In a game where a number of individuals are involved . . . the child taking one role must be ready to take the role of everyone else. . . . He has to have an organization of these roles; otherwise he cannot play the game.

Unfortunately for contemporary social psychology *role* and *attitude* had the same meaning for Mead, and when he used the concept "role-taking" he was not speaking about roles as we understand them in the

term "role-playing." It is the failure of the authors of the books under discussion to understand Mead that has led to the confusion. It should be obvious that a ball-player could not play all the "positions" or roles on a team, at least not all at once or while he is playing his own, but in this quotation (p. 177) Mead has the child taking-the-role of everyone on the team while playing his own. A person can, while playing shortstop, take the role of all others on the team involved in a given play. One can *take the attitude* of a gangster without *playing his role*; this is how police catch offenders. We have two concepts here, not one.

In summarizing the importance of studies of children's moral ideas (pp. 181-182), the authors enumerate several points, among them the fact that the child "moves from simple role-playing [role-taking] to generalized role-playing [role-taking], i.e. his generalized other develops." It should now be apparent that the terms in brackets are the correct ones according to traditional usage. Students of Mead are aware that the "generalized-other" in his thinking is a phenomenon of role-taking, and is irrelevant to role-playing. Generalized "role-playing" is an impossible conception.

The difference between the two concepts is illustrated by two items which the authors use in their "Materials for Discussion" which they give at the end of each chapter without comment. On p. 182 appear the following:

Richet . . . has shown that the subject on whom a change of personality is imposed [during hypnosis] not only adapts his speech, gestures and attitudes to the new personality, but even his handwriting is modified. (A. Binet)

There is a continual flow of agreement by the [Southern] Negro while the white man is talking, such as 'yes, boss,' 'Sho nuff,' 'Well I declare,' and the like. (J. Dollar)

I should interpret the first quotation as representing *role-taking*, and the second as representing *role-playing*, but the authors give the reader no cue to what is significant in these quotations.

We saw that in Newcomb's book the terms

under discussion are sometimes used in accordance with tradition, and sometimes not, on the same page. This occurs also on p. 186 of Lindesmith and Strauss:

. . . the ability of human beings to *play* [take] *roles* enables them to acquire objectivity. . . . By assuming the positions of other persons, the individual is able to turn his language upon himself and his own actions.

The ability to take into account the view of other persons, to *take their roles*, is fundamental to the achievement of 'objective' thought.

The same thing occurs on the page following this, while on p. 190 "role-taking" is properly used.

After the authors have already given this extended discussion of role-taking, sometimes properly named but usually called role-playing, there now appears on p. 196 a section entitled "Taking the Role of the Other." Although the process of role-taking is here well described, with its linguistic basis, the term "role-taking" is not used. A more proper title of this section would be "The Linguistic Basis of Role-taking"—a second instance of this.

*Sargent.* The third of these excellent new texts is that of S. Stansfeld Sargent. As compared with the other two this book lays considerably less stress on roles, role-playing and role-taking, but there is confusion here nevertheless. Whereas Newcomb's book stresses role-playing and calls it role-taking, Sargent's book, like that of Lindesmith and Strauss, stresses role-taking and calls it role-playing, generally speaking.

The discussion begins on p. 205 with the child's elementary role-taking—in the form of "playing-at," after Mead, and the terms follow traditional usage. It is also recognized here that the "generalized-other" emerges from this early type of role-taking, not from role-playing. On p. 206 both terms, role-taking and role-playing, are used with an apparent understanding that the two terms represent different concepts. The subject is then dropped and resumed on p. 273, where doubt begins to enter the reader's mind.

In a quotation from Cameron on p. 275

the term "playing-at" would have been appropriate instead of his using both *playing* and *taking* to denote the process. On p. 278 both terms follow traditional usage, but there appears to be no awareness that two concepts are involved. Then on p. 281 our doubts are substantiated with the violation of traditional usage of the term "take" in two instances. Using the illustration of a guest at a dinner party, the text reads:

Our guest may, of course, be *displaying* other roles in addition to his central guest role. He may also take [play or display] the role of a man of the world, a cynic, or a prophet. . . . From a strictly psychological standpoint, *role-taking* [role-playing] is possible because the human organism can take and maintain a 'mental set' which facilitates certain kinds of behavior and inhibits other responses.

Then at the bottom of the page the word "play" is traditionally used, but is assumed to have the same meaning as "taking" in the last quotation above; and on p. 283 "play" follows traditional usage three times. On p. 284, however, "playing" follows traditional usage but "taken" is used to mean the same thing.

For the most part the individual is unconscious of the fact that he is *playing* a role. Teacher and student, employer and employee, husband and wife seldom stop to think what is the appropriate behavior. . . . In new and unusual circumstances, however, the situation must be interpreted or defined, and the role *to be taken* [played] may be consciously considered.

The term "role-taking" is again misused on p. 290; but "role-playing" is repeatedly used correctly on pages 306, 309 and 310. Later, pp. 319-320, in a quotation from Carl Rogers we are given a perfect descriptive

statement of the role-taking process, even though it is not so named.

Client-centered therapy has led us to try to adopt the client's perceptive field as the basis for genuine understanding.

This is exactly what Mead meant by "taking the role of the other," adopting the other's perceptive field, imaginatively and empathically putting oneself in the other's place.

#### CONCLUSION

In this paper we have tried to demonstrate the following propositions: (1) that tradition has given us two important concepts pertaining to two very different types of human activity, one sociological and one psychological; (2) that this tradition has also given us two different terms with which to refer to these concepts and activities—terms which, though different, yet are imprecise and inadequately differentiated in the tradition; (3) that these concepts are now in danger of being lost through confusion because recent important texts are using either or both terms to refer to either or both concepts and their relevant activities; and (4) that the corrective for this state of confusion is to use Mead's terms and concepts as Mead used them. There are several adequate synonyms for the term "role-taking," but the reader is the loser, as is the profession, when the original term is not identified with them.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The writer has a direct interest in this matter, for in his *Emergent Human Nature*, Mead's concept of role-taking is central; whereas in his volume now in preparation role-playing is a central concept. To read these books with the belief that the two terms are synonymous would make both books practically meaningless.

## SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND AND COLLEGE ENROLLMENT

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THE socio-economic background of high school and college students has been the subject of study in a number of investigations. Many articles and parts of studies have reported the results of surveys of student abilities, interests, and academic achievement as related to the socio-economic background of students in particular schools.<sup>1</sup> Among other things, these studies reveal:

1. A tendency for students from professional, proprietor, and managerial groups to increase in proportion from grammar school to college.

2. Students in liberal arts colleges tend to stand higher in the socio-economic scale than those in teachers' colleges and normal schools.

3. Students enrolled in private schools and universities, on the whole, come from higher socio-economic groups than students attending public high schools, junior colleges, or state universities.

4. Students from the upper socio-economic groups are over-represented in institutions of higher learning, and students from the lower socio-economic groups are under-represented.

5. The chances children of superior intelligence have of attending college increase as the family income increases.

6. The chances children of superior intelligence have of attending college increase as the father's occupational status increases.

The under-representation of the lower socio-economic groups in institutions of higher learning can be partly explained by the fact that children from these groups start dropping out of school on the grade levels and continue to do so in increasing

numbers in high school, while most of the children from the upper socio-economic groups continue to go on to college.<sup>2</sup> Among high school graduates who fail to continue their education there is evidence that many of them with the ability to assimilate a college education come from the lower socio-economic groups.<sup>3</sup> Some sociologists and educators look upon this latter situation as undesirable and feel it should be corrected.<sup>4</sup>

The current plan for the encouragement of talented high school graduates to enter college is based on a program of national scholarships and fellowships.<sup>5</sup> Thus, it appears that the proponents of this plan look upon the problem as being essentially financial, and assume that most high school graduates with college ability would enter college if some kind of financial assistance were available. On the other hand, the theory of social class as a culture concept looks upon the non-presence in institutions of higher learning of talented lower-class high school graduates not merely as a financial problem but as a cultural problem.

The culture theory of class conceives of social classes as selective cultural groupings which give to their members a similar stock of ideas, values, feelings, attitudes, and forms of behavior. It recognizes the fact that people

<sup>2</sup> W. L. Warner *et al.*, *Social Class in America*, 1949, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Elbridge Sibley, "Some Demographic Clues to Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, 7 (June, 1942), 322-330; Warner *et al.*, *Who Shall Be Educated?*; George F. Zook, "The Findings and Recommendations of the President's Commission on Higher Education," *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, 35 (Spring, 1949), 17-22; and, A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth*, 1949.

<sup>4</sup> Sibley, *op. cit.*; Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 165; and Zook, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Zook, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>1</sup> See Ruth Strang, *Behavior and Background of Students in College and Secondary Schools*, 1937, and W. Lloyd Warner *et al.*, *Who Shall Be Educated?*, 1944, for summaries on some of these studies.

live, work, play and think on different class levels. The differences between classes are not merely financial or external standards of living, but encompass the entire range of social behavior: occupation, vocation, manner of speaking, social and sexual attitudes, musical and literary tastes, and philosophy of life.

According to this theory the culture of the lower classes obstructs the educational development of their children. The home background tends to make them critical of, or unsympathetic to, the idea of education and emphasizes the importance of going to work and contributing to the family's income at an early age. Immediate financial returns are given priority over present sacrifices for possible future gains. The culture of these classes determines to a considerable degree definitions that are unfavorable for a higher education.

Thus, according to the culture theory of class,<sup>6</sup> large numbers of students from the lower socio-economic groups would not be expected to take advantage of the proposed national scholarships and fellowships for high school graduates, since their class culture does not value higher education as an end in itself, as a social grace or as a means of social mobility.

If, as the proponents of public subsidies for higher education claim, large numbers of talented children from the lower socio-economic groups have not attended college because of the lack of financial means, the G. I. Bill of Rights should have enabled substantial numbers of veterans from the lower socio-economic groups to attend college. On the other hand, according to the theory of class as a culture concept, the G. I. Bill of Rights should not have appreciably altered the socio-economic composition of student bodies in institutions of higher learning and most veterans should come from the upper socio-economic groups where education is

looked upon either as a social grace or as a means of bettering one's class position.

It occurred to the writer that these two approaches to the problem of the under-representation of talented lower socio-economic groups in institutions of higher learning could be evaluated in one such institution by analyzing the socio-economic backgrounds of both students with military experience and students without military experience. Accordingly, the present study was undertaken: (1) To determine the representativeness of the various socio-economic groups at Indiana University, and to relate socio-economic background with selected social phenomena; and (2) to analyze the socio-economic background of both veterans and non-veterans at Indiana University.

#### PROCEDURE

Occupation of the students' fathers was used as an index of socio-economic background. The classification of gainful workers into socio-economic groups developed by Edwards<sup>7</sup> was used for this purpose. Edwards claims that his arrangement of the various groups of workers in his classification system are grouped in the descending order of the socio-economic status of the workers comprising them and that they do constitute a scale.<sup>8</sup>

There is considerable agreement among social scientists that if only one item relating to socio-economic status could be recorded, occupation would probably be selected as the most significant.<sup>9</sup> It may then be assumed that occupation differentiates populations into somewhat distinct socio-economic groups

<sup>6</sup> See James Bossard, *The Sociology of Child Development*, 1948, pp. 284-286, and 303-306, for a clear statement on class as a culture concept in relation to education. Also, see Hollingshead, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-120, for the cultural characteristics of the various social classes.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 182.

<sup>8</sup> See F. S. Chapin, *The Measurement of Social Status*, 1933; T. Parsons, "An Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, 45, 856; R. Strang, *op. cit.*, p. 277; R. Centers, *The Psychology of Social Classes*, 1949, p. 209; J. W. McConnell, *The Evolution of Social Classes*, 1942, p. 210; and Genevieve Knapier, *Indices of Socio-Economic Status*, Doctor's thesis, Columbia University, 1946.

more efficiently than any other single indicator.

*The Sample.* Data for the study were collected from the personnel information forms in the office of the Registrar. These forms are filled out by the individual students during registration. Only the personnel forms of male students who were in attendance at Indiana University during the second semester of the academic year of 1946-47 were included in the study. A twenty per cent sample of the male students at the university was secured by selecting every fifth male personnel information form alphabetically. A sample of 1,444 cases was obtained.

Since information on the occupations of the students' fathers was of paramount importance in the present study, steps were taken during registration to instruct the male registrants to be as specific as possible concerning the type of work of their fathers in answering this question on their personnel information forms. It appears that this method of instruction was valuable in that only seventy-three students out of the sample of 1,444 cases failed to give their fathers' occupations or were so vague in their answers that the occupations were not classifiable.

#### FINDINGS

*Socio-Economic Background.* Table 1 presents the socio-economic composition of the male in-state students at Indiana University. The professional group contributes the largest proportion of students, 13.9 per cent, while making up only 4.2 per cent of the state population, and the semi-skilled group contributes the smallest, 6.2 per cent, while representing 19.4 per cent of the state population. If the occupations are placed into three groups: (1) farmers (owners and tenants); (2) white collar workers (professional, business, and clerical); and, (3) blue collar workers (skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled),<sup>10</sup> it is found that the white collar group sends 54.7 per cent of the students to the university, while making up only 24.4 per cent of the state population, the blue

collar group contributes 30.5 per cent of the students, while making up 60.1 per cent of the state population, and the farmers contribute 9.4 per cent of the students, while representing 14.0 per cent of the state population.

The significance of the incidence in Table 1 may be more readily seen if we assume that such factors as size of family, opportunity to attend college, and desire to attend college are constant for all socio-economic groups; then equal representation of all socio-economic groups would result in indices approximating 100 or unity. However, the several socio-economic groups are not equally represented. The professional group sends to the university approximately three and one-fourth times as many students as its "quota," while at the other extreme the unskilled labor group fills only twenty-six per cent of its "quota." If the farmers are excluded from Edwards' socio-economic groups, a direct ratio is found between socio-economic group and the index of representation at the university.

The under-representation of the blue collar classes at the university is probably greater than the figures in Table 1 indicate. By using the occupation of male workers in Indiana to determine the representativeness of the various socio-economic groups at the university the assumption is made that all families have the same number of children. From previous studies it is known that the blue collar groups have larger families than the white collar groups. Failure to hold the size of the families constant tends to give the blue collar group a higher index of representativeness at the university than it warrants.

*Vocational Choice.* At the time of registration, each male student was asked to name his vocational choice. Technically, the major subject is not declared until the end of the second year, and many first- and second-year students are not certain in regard to their major field. The vocational choices gathered from the students' personnel information forms indicate, therefore, in many cases only the student's present intention or tentative choice.

Students from professional families are

<sup>10</sup> No farm laborers were found.

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strongly attracted by the vocations of law, medicine, dentistry, and music (Table 2), while the vocations of teaching and accountancy are the outstanding choices of the farming group. The business group as a whole is strongly attracted to the vocation of business, while the "other proprietors" group is also over-represented in the vocational choice of the law, as is the clerical group.

The skilled group is over-represented in the vocational choices of business and music, along with the semi-skilled group; the semi-

recent study by Mueller and Mueller it was found that the blue collar groups were sending more than their quota of recruits into the teaching profession.<sup>12</sup>

*Education Interrupted by Work.* The socio-economic composition of students who have worked before entering college or re-entered college after an interval of gainful work is found in Table 3. Some 381 students, or 26.4 per cent of the sample, had their college education postponed or interrupted by a work experience. The business group had the lowest index, or the smallest number

TABLE 1. PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS IN INDIANA UNIVERSITY AND IN STATE OF INDIANA AND THEIR INDICES OF OVER- OR UNDER-REPRESENTATION IN THE UNIVERSITY

Socio-Economic Group	Indiana University		State of Indiana <sup>a</sup> Per Cent	Index of Representation <sup>b</sup>
	Number	Per Cent		
Professional	164	13.9	4.2	331
Farmers (owners & tenants)	112	9.4	14.0	67
Proprietors, wholesale, and retail dealers	146	12.4	8.3	284
Other proprietors, managers & officials	132	11.2		
Clerks & kindred workers	203	17.2	11.9	145
Skilled workers	211	17.9	16.4	109
Semi-skilled workers	73	6.2	19.4	32
Unskilled workers	75	6.4	24.3	26
Unknown	62	5.4	1.2	450
Total <sup>c</sup>	1,178	100.0	100.0	

<sup>a</sup> Excludes 266 out-of-state students.

<sup>b</sup> Adapted from Alba M. Edwards, *op. cit.*, and corrected to include unemployed and public emergency workers.

<sup>c</sup> The index is a measure of representation such that 100 would indicate a uniform distribution of socio-economic groups for both the state and the university. Therefore an index of 331 shows that the professional class is over-represented by over three times in the university population, as contrasted with the expected proportion from the state population.

skilled group is strongly attracted by teaching and journalism. The unskilled group is highly over-represented in teaching, medicine and accountancy, and avoids entirely dentistry, journalism and music.

A significant feature of Table 2 appears to be the very strong attraction the teaching profession has for the farming and blue collar groups. Moffett in 1929 found that approximately 55 per cent of the students in fifteen teachers' colleges had fathers who were farmers or skilled workers.<sup>11</sup> In a more

of students with such a work experience in proportion to their numbers in the university, while the semi-skilled group had the highest index. The farming and blue collar groups are over-represented from 18 to 47 per cent by such a work experience while the white collar groups are under-represented from 16 to 41 per cent.

*Social Fraternities.* Over 28 per cent of the students were found to be members of social fraternities. Of the students belonging to

<sup>11</sup> M. Moffett, *Social Background and Activities of Teachers' College Students*, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1929.

<sup>12</sup> Kate H. Mueller and John H. Mueller, "Socio-Economic Background of Women Students at Indiana University," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, IX (Autumn, 1949), 321-329.

TABLE 2. SELECTED VOCATIONAL CHOICES OF MALE STUDENTS BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP, PERCENTAGES AND INDICES,\* INDIANA UNIVERSITY, SEMESTER II, 1947

Socio-Economic Group	Vocational Choice																	
	Business		Teacher		Doctor		Lawyer		Account-ant		Dentist	Chemist	Jour-nalist	Musician				
	% Index	% Index	% Index	% Index	% Index	% Index	% Index	% Index	% Index	% Index	% Index	% Index	% Index					
Professional	12	60	13	93	15	125	13	163	6	86	8	200	7	277	3	100	2	200
Farmers	9	45	27	193	13	108	6	75	14	200	2	50	2	67	2	67	0	0
Wholesale and retail dealers	26	130	12	86	14	117	5	63	6	86	1	25	3	100	2	67	3	300
Other proprietors	24	120	8	57	13	108	12	150	6	86	2	50	2	67	2	67	0	0
Clerical	26	130	8	57	12	100	11	138	7	100	4	100	3	100	2	67	0.8	80
Skilled	24	120	14	100	11	92	6	75	6	86	4	100	2	67	3	100	2	200
Semi-skilled	24	120	20	143	10	83	7	88	5	71	4	100	2	67	6	200	3	300
Unskilled	16	80	25	179	16	133	4	50	11	157	0	0	1	33	0	0	0	0
Unknown	11	55	23	164	10	83	11	138	15	214	4	100	1	33	1	34	1	100
Total	20	14	12	8	7	4	3	3	3	3	1							

Direction of 100.0 per cent →

\* Let 100 equal the total per cent of the student body making a particular vocational choice. Since only 12 per cent of the professional group selected business as a vocational choice in contrast to 20 per cent of the student body, their representation under expectancy is 40 per cent. The index is therefore 60.

TABLE 3. THE PERCENTAGE OF MALE STUDENTS WHO HAVE WORKED,\* COMPARED WITH THE PERCENTAGE OF ALL MALE STUDENTS BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP AND INDICES, INDIANA UNIVERSITY, SEMESTER II, 1947

Socio-Economic Group	Students Who Have Worked		All Students %	Index
	No.	%		
Professional	48	12.4	14.6	84
Farmers	48	12.4	8.8	141
Wholesale and retail dealers	27	7.1	12.1	59
Other proprietors	30	7.9	11.8	67
Clerical	53	13.9	17.8	78
Skilled	78	20.5	17.4	118
Semi-skilled	33	8.8	6.0	147
Unskilled	32	8.5	6.4	133
Unknown	32	8.5	5.1	168
Total	381	100.0	100.0 (N-1,444)	...

\* The meaning of students who have worked is limited to those individuals who upon the completion of high school worked at least one year before entering college. This category also includes students who left college and worked for at least one year before re-entering.

fraternities 71 per cent came from the white collar groups, whereas these groups represent only 56.3 per cent of the student body (Table 4). The white collar groups were over-represented in social fraternities from 21 to 38 per cent, while the farming and blue collar groups were under-represented

from 9 to 57 per cent. The business group had the highest proportion and the farming group the lowest.

*Military Service.* Earlier it was mentioned that excluding the farmers from Edwards' socio-economic groups gave a direct ratio between socio-economic group and index of

TABLE

Socio-Economic Group  
Professionals  
Farmers  
Wholesalers  
Other proprietors  
Clerical  
Skilled  
Semi-skilled  
Unskilled  
Unknown  
Total

TABLE

Socio-Economic Group  
Professionals  
Farmers  
Wholesalers

Other proprietors  
Clerical  
Skilled  
Semi-skilled  
Unskilled  
Unknown  
Total

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\* The military

represents is also with the student 5). In the military group found of the per cent of farm the veterans

TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE FRATERNITY MEMBERS BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP AND INDICES, INDIANA UNIVERSITY, SEMESTER II, 1947

Socio-Economic Group	Fraternity Members		All Students		Index
	No.	%	No.	%	
Professional	79	18.9	211	14.6	130
Farmers	16	3.8	127	8.8	43
Wholesale & retail dealers	62	14.8	175	12.1	122
Other proprietors	68	16.3	171	11.8	138
Clerical	90	21.5	257	17.8	121
Skilled	48	11.5	251	17.4	66
Semi-skilled	19	4.5	87	6.0	75
Unskilled	24	5.8	92	6.4	91
Unknown	12	2.9	73	5.1	57
Total	418	100.0	1,444	100.0	...

TABLE 5. PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS IN INDIANA UNIVERSITY BY MILITARY SERVICE AND THEIR INDICES OF OVER- OR UNDER-REPRESENTATION IN THE UNIVERSITY

Socio-Economic Group	Veterans											
	State of Indiana			All Students		Total		Post-War	Pre-War	Non-Vets		
	%	%	Index	%	Index	%	Index	%	Index	%	Index	
Professional	4.2	14.6	340	14.0	326	10.0	233	18.4	428	17.4	405	
Farmers	14.0	8.8	59	7.8	52	7.9	53	7.7	51	12.9	86	
Wholesale & retail dealers		12.1		11.1		11.7		10.7		15.7		
	8.3		272		261		257		270		313	
Other proprietors		11.8		11.9		10.9		13.1		11.8		
Clerical	11.9	17.8	150	18.1	152	17.1	144	19.1	161	16.4	138	
Skilled	16.4	17.4	106	18.9	115	20.9	127	16.7	102	11.1	68	
Semi-skilled	19.4	6.0	31	6.7	35	8.7	46	4.4	23	3.5	19	
Unskilled	24.3	6.4	26	6.7	27	7.9	32	5.3	21	4.9	20	
Unknown	1.2	5.1	0	4.8	0	4.9	0	4.6	0	6.3	0	
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		
	(N-1,444)			(N-1,152)		(N-608)		(N-544)		(N-287)*		

$\chi^2=64.97$   $P=<0.001$

\* The total on veterans and non-veterans amounts to 1,439 as five students failed to give their past military or civilian status.

representation at the university. This ratio is also found to exist among those students with military experience and among those students without military experience (Table 5). In comparing the white collar group with military experience against the white collar group without military experience it was found that the former made up 55.1 per cent of the veterans while the latter made up 61.3 per cent of the non-veterans. The proportion of farmers increased from 7.8 per cent among the veterans to 12.9 per cent among the non-veterans, while the proportion of the blue

collar group decreased from 32.3 per cent among the veterans to 19.5 per cent among the non-veterans. On the basis of these percentages it appears that the G.I. Bill of Rights increased the proportion of students from the lower socio-economic groups attending the university by more than 60 per cent. There is some evidence, however, that the percentage increase is greater than 60 per cent, if the category of students with military experience is broken down into two groups of veterans with college experience prior to their military service and veterans

with college experience after their military service.

If the students with military service are thus separated into two groups on the basis of college experience, it is found that 47.2 per cent had some college experience before entering military service whereas the remainder of 52.8 per cent first entered college after military service. If it is assumed that the former, since they already had attended college without government assistance, would have re-entered college after military service if the G. I. Bill of Rights did not exist, then the latter group would be more likely to contain veterans who would not have been able to attend college without government financial assistance.

When the white collar group among the non-veterans is compared with the white collar group among the post-war veterans, or the veterans who first entered college after the war, it is found that, whereas the former makes up 61.3 per cent of the non-veterans, the latter makes up only 49.7 per cent of the post-war veterans. The farming group also shows a decrease in proportion from 12.9 per cent of the non-veterans to 7.9 per cent of the post-war veterans.

If one compares the blue collar group among the non-veterans with the blue collar group among the post-war veterans, one finds that the blue collar group increases in proportion from 19.5 per cent among the non-veterans to 37.5 per cent among the post-war veterans.

On the basis of the above percentages and assumptions it appears that the G. I. Bill of Rights increased the proportion of students from the lower socio-economic groups attending the university by more than 90 per cent. The semi-skilled group showed the highest increase with a percentage of 148, the skilled group was next with an increase of over 88 per cent, and the unskilled group was last with an increase of 61 per cent. Among the white collar and farming groups only the clerical group showed an increase in proportion of its students among the post-war veterans over the non-veterans. This increase was slightly over 4 per cent.

Table 5 also gives the socio-economic dis-

tribution of students who had some college experience before entering military service. We can not assume that these students represent a good sample of the pre-war socio-economic distribution of students at the university. These students are a select group. They are the students who later had military experience, and obviously, all pre-war students did not have this experience. Then, too, these are the students who returned to college after military service and, again, we can not assume that all pre-war students with military service returned to the university.

The post-war veteran students in turn may also be classified into two groups on the basis of the amount of time that elapsed between graduation from high school and entrance into the armed forces. Upon graduation from high school over 57 per cent of the post-war veteran students entered military service within one year's time (Table 6). We do not know what proportion of these students would have entered college if a war had not been going on, as the time period between graduation from high school and entrance into the armed forces was of such short duration that starting college hardly appeared worthwhile. On the other hand, approximately 43 per cent of the post-war veterans upon graduation from high school worked for a year or more before entering the military. It would appear that this latter group of post-war veteran students, or those post-war veteran students who entered the military indirectly, had the opportunity, at least from the point of time, of entering college and completing at least two semesters of college work before entering the armed forces. Since these students ultimately entered college under the G. I. Bill of Rights we may assume that they did not attend college before entering the armed forces largely because of economic factors. Here then we have a group of students being aided by the G. I. Bill of Rights that had never been to college though they had the opportunity from the standpoint of time but probably not from the standpoint of economic ability. It would appear that of all the veterans the post-war veteran students who entered the armed forces indirectly

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would be the group to compare with the non-veterans to determine which social strata were being aided by the G. I. Bill of Rights. The pre-war veterans had already been to college and thus demonstrated their economic ability to attend college, and the post-war veteran students who entered the military directly from high school may contain large numbers of students who were able to afford a college education but did not have the

entered the military indirectly came from this stratum.

On the basis of the above percentages and assumptions it appears that the G. I. Bill of Rights increased the proportion of students from the lower socio-economic groups attending the university by more than 113 per cent. The semi-skilled group showed the highest increase, namely 228.5 per cent, the skilled group was next with an increase of 98.2 per

TABLE 6. COMPARISON OF THE PERCENTAGE OF MALE STUDENTS WHO ENTERED MILITARY SERVICE DIRECTLY FROM HIGH SCHOOL WITH THE PERCENTAGE OF MALE STUDENTS WHO ENTERED MILITARY SERVICE INDIRECTLY FROM HIGH SCHOOL, ALL OF WHOM FIRST ENTERED COLLEGE AFTER MILITARY SERVICE, BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP, INDIANA UNIVERSITY, SEMESTER II, 1947

Socio-Economic Group	First Entered College After Military Service						
	Total		Entered Military from High School		Indirectly		Index of Representation
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Professional	61	10.0	41	11.8	20	7.6	181
Farmers	48	7.9	17	4.9	31	11.8	84
Wholesale and retail dealers	71	11.7	48	13.9	23	8.8	189
Other proprietors	66	10.9	48	13.9	18	6.9	
Clerical	104	17.1	64	18.5	40	15.3	129
Skilled	127	20.9	70	20.2	57	21.8	133
Semi-Skilled	53	8.7	23	6.6	30	11.5	59
Unskilled	48	7.9	26	7.5	22	8.4	35
Unknown	30	4.9	9	2.7	21	7.9	0
Total	608	100.0	346	100.0	262	100.0	

$\chi^2=34.44$        $P=<0.001$

opportunity to start college during the war.

When the non-veteran students are compared with the post-war veteran students who entered the military indirectly it is found that, whereas 61.3 per cent of the non-veterans came from the white collar group (Table 5), only 38.6 per cent of the post-war veterans who entered the military indirectly came from this group. On the other hand, 19.5 per cent of the non-veterans came from the blue collar group, and 41.7 per cent of the post-war veterans who entered the military indirectly came from the same group. Approximately 13 per cent of the non-veterans came from the farming group, and 11.8 per cent of the post-war veterans who

cent, and the unskilled group was last with an increase of 71.4 per cent. All of the white collar and farming groups showed a decrease in the proportion of students among the post-war veterans who entered the military indirectly when compared with the non-veteran students.

#### SUMMARY

1. Excluding the farmers from Edwards' socio-economic groups, a direct ratio is found between socio-economic group and indices of representation at Indiana University.

2. The farming, semi-skilled and unskilled groups are under-represented and the

white collar group is over-represented at Indiana University.

3. The farming, semi-skilled and unskilled groups are strongly attracted by the teaching profession.

4. Students from the farming and blue collar groups stand a better chance of having their college education postponed or interrupted by a work experience than students coming from the white collar group.

5. Students from the white collar group stand a better chance of becoming members of social fraternities at Indiana University than students coming from the farming and blue collar groups.

6. The G. I. Bill of Rights has increased the proportion of students from the blue collar group at Indiana University from 90 to 113 per cent.

#### CONCLUSIONS

1. The white collar group was found to be over-represented not only among the non-veterans but also among the veterans at Indiana University. If the assumption is granted that the post-war veterans who

entered the military indirectly are the group most likely to contain students who would otherwise be unable to attend the university, the corollary follows that many white collar families, out of proportion to their numbers in the state, are unable financially to send their sons to the university. This is not very surprising when one considers that the annual median family income in the United States in 1947 was only \$2,800.

2. The farming, semi-skilled and unskilled groups did not or were unable to take advantage of the G. I. Bill of Rights in proportion to their numbers in the state of Indiana.

3. On the basis of the above parochial study it may tentatively be hypothesized that, in general, the absence of talented students from the white collar and skilled groups in institutions of higher learning is due, on the whole, to economic factors rather than to cultural factors, but that, in general, the absence of talented students from farming, semi-skilled and unskilled groups in institutions of higher learning is due, on the whole, to cultural factors rather than to purely economic factors.

## DELINQUENCY AS THE FAILURE OF PERSONAL AND SOCIAL CONTROLS\*

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**D**ELINQUENCY may be defined as the behavior consequent to the failure of personal and social controls to produce behavior in conformity with the norms of the social system to which legal penalties are attached. Personal control may be defined as the ability of the individual to refrain from meeting needs in ways which conflict with the norms and rules of the community. Social control may be defined as the ability of social groups or institutions to make norms or rules effective.

Delinquency results when there is a relative absence of internalized norms and rules governing behavior in conformity with the norms of the social system to which legal penalties are attached, a breakdown in previously established controls, and/or a relative absence of or conflict in social rules or techniques for enforcing such behavior in the social groups or institutions of which the person is a member. Hence delinquency may be seen as a functional consequence of the type of relationship established among the personal and social controls.<sup>1</sup> While for

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<sup>1</sup> This formulation is not in contradiction with formulations which view certain types of delin-

a particular person the relative weakness of personal or social controls may account in large part for the delinquent behavior, for most cases the relative weakness of personal and social controls should account for the delinquent behavior. Similarly, when we consider the problem of delinquent recidivism, i.e., continuation in delinquent behavior, we would expect that personal and social controls are less effective in governing the behavior of delinquent recidivists than non-recidivists.

The purpose of the present paper is to isolate a set of personal and social controls which are associated with delinquent recidivism and to evaluate them as prognostic of recidivism. The evaluation of the predictors is undertaken in terms of the theory of prediction.<sup>2</sup>

*The Predictors and the Criterion.* The data collected for this study consist of the materials in the official juvenile court records of 1,110 white male juvenile delinquent probationers between the ages of 11 and 17. These delinquents were placed on probation by the judges of the Cook County Juvenile Court between March 4, 1943 and October 31, 1944. From the data in the first 736 case folders, items were selected which are measures of personal controls, social control in primary groups, and social control by community and institutions. Factor items were then isolated as predictors in terms of the theory of prediction and a prediction device constructed. Finally, predictions were validated by predicting for a follow-up sample of 374 cases.

quency as a consequence of social control in the delinquent gang. The delinquent peer group is here viewed as a functional consequence of the failure of personal and social controls in the social system to produce behavior in conformity with the norms of the social system to which legal penalties are attached. Acceptance of the delinquent gang as an agency of control results in rejection of the conformity norms of the larger social system or the acceptance of and/or submission to conflicting sets of norms and rules.

<sup>2</sup> This paper summarizes a part of "The Accuracy, Efficiency and Validity of a Prediction Instrument" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1949).

A major consideration in prediction studies is the character of the event predicted. The criterion predicted in this research is official action. It is a dichotomous classification of success or failure on probation of delinquents from the Cook County Juvenile Court. In effect, most probationers (92%) classified as failures commit a delinquent offense while under probationary supervision. Eighty-seven per cent of these offenses consist of adult felonies. Since over ninety per cent of the delinquents who violate probationary supervision commit offenses, it seems logical to conclude the behavior of the delinquent determines official action. In terms of the theory of delinquent recidivism, then, our assumptions are twofold: (1) a delinquent's behavior on probation determines action by official authority<sup>3</sup> and (2) the observed association between predictors and criterion is valid in the sense that it is prognostic of delinquent recidivism.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> There is the possibility that all delinquent probationers who commit an offense are not included in the failure population. It is doubtful whether such selection significantly alters the observed relationships in this research. If it is argued such selection significantly alters the relationship, it must be demonstrated that the *nature* of official action has materially altered the association of predictors and the criterion. (This does not negate the possibility that the nature of official action may attenuate the observed correlations). Previous studies demonstrate that when official selection operates to "select" a population, it may operate with respect to the factors associated with the behavior predicted. Hence official selection into a population does not necessarily alter the relationship between a set of factors and the behavior predicted. See United States Department of Justice, *Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures*, Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1939, Vol. IV, Appendix A.

<sup>4</sup> To the extent this assumption cannot be granted, we are of course predicting official action rather than a delinquent's behavior. The assumption does not preclude the assignment of changes in the rate of violation over periods of time to official causes, e.g., changes in legal norms, law enforcement policy or probation supervision. Furthermore, variation in the nature of official action may affect individual probationers or classes of probationers differentially. Over short periods of time, however, a relatively consistent rate of violation among the classes is generally maintained.

## CONTROL IN PRIMARY GROUPS

Primary groups are the basic institutions for the development of personal controls and the exercise of social control over the child. These groups exercise social control over the non-delinquent child by providing non-delinquent social roles and by employing techniques which make non-delinquent norms and rules effective. Concomitantly, the non-delinquent child develops contra delinquent personal controls in primary groups. Delinquency and delinquent recidivism may be viewed as a consequence of the failure of primary groups to provide the child with appropriate non-delinquent social roles and to exercise social control over the child so these roles are accepted or submitted to in accord with needs.

*Meeting the Needs of the Child.* An important part of family control is the ability of the family to meet the needs of its members. An aspect of this is the ability of the family to provide for member needs through the purchase of material goods and services. In Table 1, we observe there is a low but statistically significant association between income or economic status of family and outcome on probation. The child of the economically dependent family, however, constitutes a significantly poorer probation risk than the child of a family with earned income.

The economically dependent family is one where the impaired financial ability may often result in objective deprivations to members. Economic deprivation may lead to subjective feelings of insecurity about the possibility of future needs being met and therefore weaken personal controls. Further, the disapproval of a society which fails to provide for one's needs is of less concern when a person's position is one of economic dependence upon the society than one of relative independence. Finally, dependent economic status often results in diminished parental authority over family members. Loss of parental authority (particularly that of the father) is greatest over the adolescent members of the family.<sup>5</sup> Since economic de-

pendency appears to have marked disintegrative effects upon family unity and control and the child's acceptance of social control, adolescents from these families could be expected to meet their needs more often through delinquent activity than members of families who are not similarly deprived.

*Dissemination of Norms and Rules.* The child develops appropriate personal controls and the family exercises contra delinquent social control over the child's behavior when the family milieu is structured so that the child identifies with family members who represent roles of conformity with non-delinquent norms and accepts the norms and rules embodied in these roles. Such families are a social-psychological unity oriented toward the establishment and maintenance of non-delinquent behavior for its members.

Studies of recidivism in delinquent populations show that delinquents from families where there is a formal break in the structural unity tend to be recidivists more often than delinquents where parents are living together. Our observations on marital status of parents in Table 1 are in accord with these conclusions. Absence of a formal break in the structural unity of the family does not necessarily mean, however, that the social-psychological unity of the family is intact. Such considerations necessitate an examination of the nature of the formal break *vis-à-vis* the social psychological unity of the family. Table 1 shows that delinquents from homes where the psychological unity is impaired (as measured by the character of the marital relationships between parents at time of delinquency) are significantly more often recidivists than delinquents from homes where the psychological unity is relatively intact.<sup>6</sup> A comparison of the data with

and His Family, New York: The Dryden Press, 1940. Similarly Cavan and Ranck observe that dependent economic status decreases the ability of the family to act together as a unit. Ruth S. Cavan and Katherine Ranck, *The Family and the Depression*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938.

<sup>6</sup> The index of the social-psychological unity of the family employed here is the character of the marital relations between husband and wife. Families may be considered psychologically impaired as a unity when there is an open breach or gross in-

<sup>5</sup> See Mirra Komarovsky, *The Unemployed Man*

those on formal break in the structural unity of the family suggest that delinquents from homes where the psychological unity is impaired but parents remain together are more often failures on probation than delinquents from homes where an open breach occurs.<sup>7</sup>

A major factor in the development of personal controls is the moral ideal which parents represent and the techniques they use to control the child's behavior. If the child is to develop adequate non-delinquent controls, parents must represent social roles congruent with the non-delinquent norms and rules of society and control must be exercised so the child will accept these social definitions. The child will generally not accept non-delinquent norms and rules (even though represented by parental models) when parents over-control or under-control the child's behavior, e.g., when parents punish the child severely, neglect or abandon the child or are extremely lax or indulgent. Data on parental moral ideals and techniques of control over the child's behavior in Table 1 show that delinquents from families with unfavorable moral ideals and/or techniques of control are more often recidivists than delinquents from families with favorable moral ideals and/or techniques of control.<sup>8</sup> We also observe that children from families

compatibility between husband and wife. They are psychologically intact when there are relatively strong affective ties between spouses. In the present study an open breach is defined as permanent separation, desertion or divorce, intermittent separations or desertions, or appearance in a court of domestic relations. Gross incompatibility is defined as frequent and persistent disagreement and conflict.

<sup>7</sup> One reason for this may be the fact that in homes where the formal structure remains intact but psychological unity is impaired, the child often becomes the center of the conflict. Examination of the case records shows parents of these delinquents often disagree over discipline of the child, compete for the affection of the child, etc.

<sup>8</sup> Parents were classified as having favorable moral ideals and/or techniques of control when they represented social roles congruent with non-delinquent norms and rules and did not over-control or under-control the child's behavior. They were classified as having unfavorable moral ideals and/or techniques of control when they did not represent social roles congruent with non-delinquent norms and rules and over- or under-controlled the child's behavior.

where a parent is absent but favorable moral ideals and/or techniques of control prevail are less often failures on probation than children from families where unfavorable moral ideals and/or techniques of control prevail.

It is generally agreed that children develop and maintain personal controls less readily when raised in a milieu other than the family of procreation. Children who spend part of their childhood in a children's institution are observed to be less able to control their own behavior and accept the control of other social institutions than the family child of the same age. While foster homes are usually observed to be inadequate for the development of strong personal controls (particularly as such placement is often conducted) the child is nonetheless a member of a family group with primary relationships and controls. In contrast, the institutional child is generally in an environment of depersonalized norms and rules where the primary relationships and controls of the family are absent. These children not only feel manipulated by the impersonal milieu but usually fail to accept the norms and rules of the institution as personal controls. This does not necessarily mean open conflict with institutional authorities. It may mean submission to institutional authority.<sup>9</sup> Data on institutional experience of the child in Table 1 show that delinquents who have experienced institutional placement are significantly more often recidivists than children who have had no such experience. While the number of children with foster home placement is too small to draw statistically reliable conclusions, children from foster homes are apparently less often recidivists than children who have experienced institutional placement.

<sup>9</sup> The psychological effects of most children's institutions on the social and emotional development of the child has recently been summarized by Bettelheim and Sylvester. Under prevailing standards of institutional treatment, the institution often has a psychologically crippling effect upon the achievement of adequate controls in the child. See Bruno Bettelheim and Emmy Sylvester, "A Therapeutic Milieu", *The American Journal of Ortho-psychiatry*, 2 (1948), 191-206.

TABLE 1. SMALL PRIMARY GROUP CONTROLS AS CORRELATES OF SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS ON PROBATION

Primary Group Controls As Prediction Factors <sup>1</sup>	Per Cent Failure <sup>2</sup>	Total No. of cases	Critical Ratio <sup>3</sup>	T <sup>4</sup>
<b>Family Economic Status**</b>				
Comfortable .....	29.0	399	...	
Marginal .....	33.8	257	...	
Dependent .....	53.8	36	3.4	.12
<b>Monthly Income of Parents*</b>				
Over \$270 .....	27.5	138	...	
\$180 to \$270.....	30.3	221	...	
Less than \$180.....	34.2	243	...	
Public Assistance .....	53.8	36	3.4	.09
<b>Marital Status of Natural Parents*</b>				
Parents Together .....	30.4	489	4.2	
Separation, desertion, divorce.....	37.3	142	...	
One or both parents dead.....	39.1	105	...	...
<b>Marital Relationships of Natural Parents***</b>				
Strong affective ties.....	26.3	412	3.5	
One or both parents dead.....	39.1	105	...	
Open breach or gross incompatibility.....	42.0	219	4.3	.13
<b>Moral Ideals and/or Techniques of Control by Parents During Childhood of Delin- quent***<sup>5</sup></b>				
Favorable moral ideals and/or techniques of control (parents together).....	26.3	410	4.2	
Favorable moral ideals and/or techniques of control (1 parent absent).....	38.5	192	...	
Unfavorable moral ideals and/or techniques of control (parents together or one parent absent) .....	46.1	115	3.3	.13
<b>Institutional or Foster Home Experience***</b>				
No previous experience.....	30.4	670	4.2	
Foster home experience.....	41.2	17	...	
Institutional experience .....	64.4	45	4.7	.15

<sup>1</sup> Using a chi-squared test of significance these factors showed significant association with outcome on probation as follows: \* $.01 < P(X^2) < .10$ ; \*\* $.001 < P(X^2) < .01$ ; \*\*\* $P(X^2) < .001$ .

<sup>2</sup> The average violation rate of probationers is 32.7%.

<sup>3</sup> Predictors were selected by a technique of item analysis. A significant difference (C.R.>3) between the mean violation rate of the sample and the mean violation rate of the sub-category of a prediction factor was used to select the items.

<sup>4</sup> Tschuprow's "T" was used to measure the degree of association between the prediction factor and outcome on probation.

<sup>5</sup> Nineteen cases were excluded from the analysis as they did not live in a parental environment during the greater part of their childhood.

## COMMUNITY AND INSTITUTIONAL CONTROLS

A major source of a person's control lies in the social controls of the community and its institutions. From the standpoint of the group, control by such institutions lies in the nature and strength of the norms of the institutions and the effectiveness of the institutional rules in obtaining behavior in conformity with the norms. From the perspective of the person, institutional control lies in the acceptance of or submission to the authority of the institution and the reenforcement of existing personal controls by institutional controls.

Sociologists have observed that delinquency is more prevalent in certain neighborhoods and residential areas of the city. These areas are formally characterized as having a high degree of congestion or physical overcrowding, limited recreational facilities and low-rental dwelling units in a poor state of physical repair interspersed among commercial and industrial facilities. Community institutions in these areas are often at variance with the norms of individuals and groups in the community or limited in their capacity to meet individual and group needs. The norms of residents are observed to be relatively at variance with the norms and rules of the social system and the consensus order is relatively weak and ineffective in controlling behavior in accord with non-delinquent norms and rules.<sup>10</sup> Persons in these communities less often accept or submit to the control of institutions embodying non-delinquent norms and rules. Data in table 2 show that success on probation is positively associated with residence in areas where contra delinquent institutional controls are presumably strong. In suburban areas and areas of low delinquency, in residential neighborhoods and in good residential communities more delinquents succeed on probation than in areas of high delinquency,

in commercial areas and in poor residential communities.<sup>11</sup>

Community institutions are probably more effective in controlling the behavior of family members when influence is exercised over a relatively long period of time. Furthermore, families with a relatively stable social organization are more likely to establish permanent residence in a community. Such families are usually more integrated into the community and accept the control of conventional institutions. In table 2 we observe that children from families who own homes are significantly less often failures on probation than children from families who rent their homes.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, we observe that children from families who change their place of residence infrequently are less often failures on probation than children from families who reside in the neighborhood over a relatively short period of time.

A major set of institutions which exercise control over the person are those providing formal education. Within the school, the child is provided with a set of learning experiences which are presided over by adult authority. Such experiences generally take place within a framework of controlling behavior in conformity with conventional norms. A measure of the degree of acceptance or submission of the person to the control of the school is the regularity of attendance at school since frequent and continued absence without permission of school authorities removes the child from the contra delinquent controls of the school and pro-

<sup>10</sup> For a formal statement of this position see Henry D. McKay, "The Neighborhood and Child Conduct," *The Annals*, 261 (January 1949), 32-41.

<sup>11</sup> The low association of residential characteristics with outcome on probation may perhaps be attributed to the relative crudeness of these items as measures of the strength of community and institutional controls. Such attributes, however, would not be expected to yield a high order of differentiation as they do not take into account the relationship between the person and the social controls.

<sup>12</sup> Home ownership does not vary directly with class variables in Chicago. The proportion of home ownership is greater for low and high income groups than for middle income groups. For evidence on the stabilizing effect of home ownership on the modern urban family see Lillian Cohen, "Family Characteristics of Home Owners," *American Journal of Sociology*, 55 (1940), 565-71.

TABLE 2. COMMUNITY AND INSTITUTIONAL CONTROLS AS CORRELATES OF SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS ON PROBATION

Community and Institutional Controls as Prediction Factors <sup>1</sup>	Per Cent Failure <sup>2</sup>	Total No. of cases	Critical Ratio <sup>3</sup>	T <sup>4</sup>
<i>Residence in Delinquency Areas***</i>				
Suburban .....	29.9	87	...	
Low delinquency .....	30.7	401	...	
Average delinquency .....	34.5	177	...	
High delinquency .....	44.8	67	...	.10
<i>Residence in Neighborhood Areas**</i>				
Residential .....	29.8	450	...	
Semi-residential .....	33.6	140	...	
Industrial .....	29.2	24	...	
Commercial .....	44.6	83	2.5	...
<i>Type of Residential Community*</i>				
Poor .....	37.0	284	...	
Fair .....	30.3	178	...	
Good .....	27.8	234	...	...
<i>Home Ownership*</i>				
Owner .....	26.0	192	...	
Renter .....	37.3	500	...	.08
Less than three years.....	38.9	267	3.2	
Three to ten years.....	28.7	293	...	
Over ten years.....	24.6	126	...	.12
<i>Truancy Record***</i>				
Seldom or never truant.....	25.2	230	4.6	
Frequently truant .....	40.9	220	2.0	
Usually truant .....	57.3	68	3.9	.19
<i>Department Record***</i>				
Excellent or good.....	36.2	218	...	
Fair .....	31.2	164	...	
Poor .....	46.3	82	...	
Very poor .....	56.5	23	2.6	.11

<sup>1</sup> See footnote 1, Table 1. <sup>2</sup> See footnote 2, Table 1. <sup>3</sup> See footnote 3, Table 1. <sup>4</sup> See footnote 4, Table 1.  
<sup>5</sup> Residential mobility is expressed as number of years at present address. <sup>6</sup> All cases of delinquents who were permitted to withdraw from school (183 cases) are excluded from this analysis.

hibits exposure to a situation in which rational controls are developed and strengthened.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, while truancy may be considered a mode of adjustment to a situation which is not accepted by the person,

<sup>13</sup> The reasons for such absence are, however, varied and complex. For an extended discussion of the factors related to truant behavior, see National Society for the Study of Education, "Juvenile Delinquency and the Schools," *The Forty-Second Yearbook, op. cit.*, Chapters I to V.

from the perspective of control, truancy is generally without consent of authority. In addition, the truant usually does not accept or submit to the control of other socially approved (non-delinquent) institutions during his period of truancy. He generally plays truant alone or with other truants. In table 2 we observe that truants are significantly more often recidivists than are non-truants.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> It is recognized that truancy is a violation of

Within the truancy group, however, persons who are usually truant are recidivists significantly more often than persons who are frequently truant.<sup>15</sup>

Another mode of perceiving the delinquent's acceptance of the school as a control institution is the extent to which the child conforms to the discipline requirements of the classroom situation. Presumably the child who conforms to the conduct requirements of the classroom may be thought of as accepting or at least submitting to the control of the school. The child who fails to conform to the situation, i.e. one who constitutes a behavior problem to the classroom teacher and school authorities, may be thought of as rejecting such control. In Table 2 we observe that a significantly higher proportion of delinquents classified as behavior problems by school authorities (the very poor) and delinquents demonstrating poor deportment on probation than delinquents viewed by school officials as having fair, good or excellent deportment.

#### PERSONAL CONTROLS

The nature and strength of personal controls are an index of the person's definition of how he will act in certain situations. It is generally assumed that the personality of individuals who conform to norms to which legal penalties are attached is characterized by (a) mature ego ideals or non-delinquent social roles, i.e. internalized controls of social groups governing behavior in conformity with non-delinquent group expectations, and (b) appropriate and flexible rational con-

the legal norms of the social system requiring regular attendance in school and is therefore technically classifiable as delinquency. This should not preclude its use however as a measure of rejection of social control for the prediction of continuation in delinquent behavior. The tautology appears justified here as absence from school without permission of school authorities represents rejection of authority and controls contra all forms of delinquency.

<sup>15</sup> "Frequently truant" is defined as absent from school without permission for two-fifths or more of the total instruction period; "usually truant" is defined as absent without permission, but in attendance for at least three-fifths of the total instruction period.

trols over behavior which permits conscious guidance of action in accord with non-delinquent group expectations. Satisfaction of needs is not postponed until they may be fulfilled by conforming to such expectations.

Data on personal controls were classified into three major categories: (a) relatively strong ego and/or super-ego controls, (b) relatively weak ego controls (immature person or low self-esteem), and (c) relatively weak super-ego controls ("socially deteriorated" or "delinquency oriented" personality).<sup>16</sup> Sixty-six per cent of the delinquents were classified as having relatively strong personal controls. On the basis of psychiatric diagnosis, the remaining thirty-four per cent were classified as having relatively weak ego and/or super-ego controls. Table 3 shows that persons classified as having relatively weak ego and/or super-ego controls are found in a population of recidivists significantly more often than persons classified as having relatively strong personal controls ( $T=2.23$ ).

The recommendations for treatment of the delinquent made by court staff workers and IJR psychiatrists provide a second index of the nature and strength of personal controls. Home and community placement is recommended for all delinquents where, in the judgment of the case worker or psychiatrist, the delinquent has relatively strong personal controls. When personal controls are judged as relatively weak but intensive supervision in an environment with strong social controls may lead to rehabilitation, the psychiatrist recommends such supervision with provision for a short period of institutionalization and therapy or foster placement either (a) prior to community placement or (b) contingent on case progress. Finally, for those delinquents where the diagnosis is "marked social deterioration" or "very immature personality development," the psychiatrist recommends either

<sup>16</sup> Data on the nature and strength of the delinquent's personal controls were obtained from the judgments of the social work staff at the juvenile court and the reports of the psychiatrists at the Institute for Juvenile Research (IJR), an agency providing psychiatric diagnosis and treatment.

intensive psychotherapy with the individual remaining in the community or treatment within a closed institution. Examination of the data on recommendations for treatment shows that delinquents with relatively weak personal controls, for whom placement with intensive supervision in an environment with strong personal controls is recommended, are more often failures on probation than

groups and/or (2) the relative absence of ineffectiveness of previously established control structures and techniques of the person in producing and enforcing behavior which is in conformity with the norms of the social system to which legal penalties are attached. Our observations show (1) that delinquent recidivists are less often than non-recidivists members of social groups and

TABLE 3. PERSONAL CONTROLS AS CORRELATES OF SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS ON PROBATION

Personal Controls as Prediction Factors <sup>1</sup>	Per Cent Failure <sup>2</sup>	Total No. of Cases	Critical Ratio <sup>3</sup>	T <sup>4</sup>
<i>Adequacy of Personal Controls</i>				
Relatively strong ego and super-ego controls (IJR+no IJR) .....	22.2	492	6.5	
Relatively weak ego controls (IJR) .....	51.6	159	5.7	
Relatively weak super-ego controls (IJR) .....	52.6	95	4.4	.23
<i>Recommendations for Treatment</i>				
Home and community trial (IJR+no IJR) .....	22.4	497	6.4	
Community Trial with provisional placement or institutionalization (IJR) .....	47.2	125	3.8	
Closed Institution or psychotherapy (IJR) .....	61.4	114	7.1	.24

<sup>1</sup> Using a chi-squared test of significance these factors showed significant association with outcome on probation,  $P (X^2) < .001$ .

<sup>2</sup> The average violation rate of probationers is 32.7%.

<sup>3</sup> See footnote 3, Table 1.

<sup>4</sup> See footnote 4, Table 1.

delinquents for whom home and community placement is recommended. Significantly poorer risks, however, were delinquents characterized as having relatively weak ego or super-ego controls and in need of intensive psychiatric treatment in a community or institutional setting. Sixty-one per cent of these cases were found in the population of failures on probation.

Our hypothesis was that delinquency and continuation in delinquent behavior is a consequence of (1) the ineffectiveness of control structures and techniques of social

live in a social milieu which is characterized by norms and effective techniques in producing conformity behavior contra delinquency, (2) that delinquent recidivists less often accept or submit to the control of social groups which enforce such conformity behavior than do non-recidivists, and (3) that delinquent recidivists are less often persons with mature ego ideals or non-delinquent social roles and appropriate and flexible rational controls which permit the individual to guide action in accord with non-delinquent group expectations.

## SELECTION OF THE PREDICTORS

The question may then be raised: Do these measures of personal and social control provide valid prediction of delinquent recidivism? The evaluation of these measures as predictors can be undertaken in terms of the theory of prediction. The central problem of the theory of prediction is to make the best prediction for each case by minimizing the total error of prediction for the population as a whole on the principle of maximum probability. The best prediction is obtained when the accuracy or efficiency of a prediction instrument is at a maximum.

A central problem in maximizing accuracy and efficiency of a prediction instrument is to select items as predictors which make for valid prediction. The discriminative ability of a prediction instrument is in large part a function of the discriminative ability of the predictors. Two types of predictors selected by an item analysis may be differentiated on the basis of their discriminative ability: (1) *Accurate predictors* which do not yield predictive efficiency when prediction is made from the factor, (2) *Efficient predictors* which yield predictive efficiency when prediction is made from the factor. In the long run, efficient predictors yield more accurate and efficient prediction than do accurate predictors.<sup>17</sup> Of the factors initially selected in terms of the theory of personal and social controls, four were classified as efficient predictors according to the theory of prediction. The remaining factors were accurate predictors.

Examining the four efficient predictors with a relatively high association with the criterion in Table 4, we observe that prediction from the diagnosis and recommendations for treatment made by court workers and psychiatrists yields the most efficient prediction. Prediction from truancy or deportment record, however, yields relatively low predictive efficiency. When predictions are made from these four efficient predictors

(Prediction Device I in Table 4) valid prediction is obtained, i.e. efficient prediction in expectancy and validation samples. Prediction from the diagnosis and recommendations for treatment made by court workers and psychiatrists, however, is only slightly less efficient than prediction from the battery of four efficient predictors. Further we observe that prediction from the three efficient predictors—adequacy of personal controls, truancy and deportment records (Prediction Device II in Table 4)—yields only slightly less efficient prediction than prediction from diagnosis and recommendations for treatment.

Viewing the prediction batteries in terms of the theory of personal and social controls, we note that prediction of court workers and psychiatrists are based on the evaluation of adequacy of personal controls with respect to acceptance of or submission to social controls. Three major categories of prediction are distinguished: (1) relatively strong personal controls; delinquent should succeed in his home community; (2) relatively inadequate personal controls; delinquent may succeed in an environment of relatively strong social controls while under intensive supervision; (3) marked inadequacy of personal controls; delinquent will not accept or submit to social control without psychotherapy or treatment in a community or institutional setting. Similarly, prediction from strength of personal controls, truancy and deportment records provide measures of the adequacy of the delinquent's personal controls and the extent of the delinquent's acceptance of or submission to social control.

From the remaining factors selected in terms of the theory of personal and social controls, four of the factors classified as accurate predictors with a relatively high association with the criterion were selected and a prediction device constructed. Prediction from the accurate predictors did not yield valid prediction (Prediction Device III in Table 4). When predictions were made from the four accurate predictors for a follow-up sample of cases, negative predictive efficiency was obtained. This means

<sup>17</sup> See Albert J. Reiss, Jr. "The Accuracy, Efficiency and Validity of a Prediction Instrument," *op. cit.*, Chapters VIII and IX.

that more errors in prediction are made in prediction from the battery of four accurate predictors than would be made in prediction from the over-all violation rate. Viewing the four accurate predictors in terms of the theory of personal and social controls, we

The results suggest that efficient prediction of delinquent recidivism is obtained when we use items as predictors which are measures of the adequacy of personal controls of the individual and his relation to social controls in terms of the acceptance

TABLE 4. EFFICIENCY OF PREDICTION DEVICES IN EXPECTANCY AND VALIDATION SAMPLES

Prediction Devices <sup>1</sup>	Expectancy Sample (N=736)		Validation Sample (N=374)	
	Prediction Errors <sup>2</sup>	Predictive Efficiency <sup>4</sup>	Prediction Errors <sup>3</sup>	Predictive Efficiency <sup>4</sup>
Prediction Device I.....	212	+12.0	109	+17.4
(1) Recommendations for treatment .....	215	+10.8	112	+15.1
(2) Adequacy of personal controls .....	231	+ 4.2	121	+ 8.3
(3) Truancy record .....	231	+ 4.2	130	+ 1.5
(4) Deportment record .....	239	+ 1.3	131	+ 0.8
Prediction Device II.....	209	+13.2	118	+10.6
(Predictors 2, 3 and 4).....				
Prediction Device III.....	236	+ 2.1	139	- 5.3
(5) Residence in neighborhood area .....	241	0.0	132	0.0
(6) Residential mobility .....	241	0.0	132	0.0
(7) Marital relationships of natural parents .....	241	0.0	132	0.0
(8) Moral ideals and/or techniques of control by parents	241	0.0	132	0.0
Prediction Device IV				
(Predictors 1 to 8 inc.).....	214	+11.2	120	+ 9.1

<sup>1</sup> The total score for each case is obtained by scoring significant, unfavorable, efficient subcategories of a factor. Cf. Tables 1, 2 and 3 for significant subcategories of the factors.

<sup>2</sup> Prediction from average violation rate results in 241 errors in the expectancy sample.

<sup>3</sup> Prediction from average violation rate results in 132 errors in the validation sample.

<sup>4</sup> The percent reduction in the error of prediction is employed as the measure of relative predictive efficiency. It is here defined as the ratio of the difference between errors in prediction from total violation rate and score groups of a prediction instrument to the error of prediction from total violation rate.

observe that they are measures of the strength of social controls. Predictors employed in this research as measures of family and community controls did not yield valid prediction of delinquent recidivism.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> The addition of any of the items which are measures of family and community controls to the battery of four accurate predictors does not make for valid prediction.

of or submission to social control. Such measures of personal and social control appear to yield more efficient prediction of delinquent recidivism than items which are measures of the strength of social control. In the present research, prediction from items which are measures of the adequacy of personal controls and of the acceptance of or submission to social controls was 22

per cent more efficient than prediction from items which are measures of the strength of social controls. From the standpoint of the theories of prediction and delinquent recidivism, the question may, however, be raised whether the combined set of predictors yields more efficient prediction than prediction from either set of predictors. A prediction device using the entire set of items was therefore constructed. Our results show that prediction from the combined set of predictors yields less valid prediction than prediction from items which are measures of the adequacy of personal controls and

the acceptance of or submission to social control (compare Prediction Devices I and IV in Table 4).

In predicting delinquent recidivism, then, research might well be directed toward the isolation of items which are measures of personal control re non-delinquent behavior and items which are measures of the acceptance of or submission to institutions which exercise control contra delinquent behavior. Such measures of personal and social control may be expected to yield valid prediction of delinquent recidivism.

## DISCUSSION

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Since 1928, when Dr. E. W. Burgess published the results of an investigation of the possibility of parole prediction, a large number of studies in the field have appeared. Among names to be remembered are: Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Walter Argow, William F. Lanne, Ferris F. Laune, Elio D. Monachesi (see his article in the *American Sociological Review* for February, 1945), Clark Tibbits, Courtland Van Vechten, George B. Vold, Ashley Weeks, Lewis M. Terman and others. These studies have shown:

- a. How specific personal and social characteristics of individuals can be used to predict their conduct when they are placed in designated situations.
- b. That the social scientist can definitely move toward more objectivity.
- c. That "practical men," unfriendly to the theoretical, need not feel that nothing of value can come to them from the theoretical approach.

In spite of gains from such studies, practical men have not as yet used the new tools freely and willingly, nor have social scientists done ample testing of the usefulness of the newly created prognostic instruments.

As we view the Reiss paper as a whole, we should commend him for:

- a. Moving forward to test the usefulness of prognostic instruments.

b. His search for *good* predictors of delinquent behavior. Permit me to read again his purpose, as stated early in his paper. It reads: "The purpose of the present paper is to isolate a set of personal and social controls which are associated with delinquent recidivism and to evaluate them as prognostic of recidivism."

- c. Also his seeking a *few* good predictors. Some of the earlier sets were large and unwieldy, and because of their size, were discouraging to practical men from the standpoint of their use.
- d. His laudable inroads into the use, as predictors, of personal and social controls. Attention to primary group controls, community and institutional controls and personal controls, shows a grasp of the kinds of control which really count in human behavior.

Along with the strengths of the Reiss paper came those items which I am sure some people in the audience would choose to question, or discuss further. First, I feel confident someone here, as he read the title of the paper—"Delinquency as the Failure of Personal and Social Controls"—asked silently, "Is this another single-cause explanation of delinquency and crime?" The author did not mean it to be such, I am sure. His concern has been the seeking out of predictors and the testing of them. Also, we

must remember that *personal* and *social* controls cover considerable territory.

Secondly, as to single explanations, some were likely disturbed by the frequent reference to the truant school child or the school child with bad deportment as one rejecting control or authority. I well recall Percival Symonds, in his book *Mental Hygiene and the School Child*, giving many explanations for the non-conformist and truant. Among them were: fear of failure, fear of embarrassment, habits that come from the home, escape mechanism, over-active thyroid or other physical disability, high tension type, a form of compensation or attention getting, regression, anxiety, temporary mood, etc. This may all be of little import for the purpose of the study. The chief concern as a predictor was failure to submit to social controls, the "why" of such action being less important.

Thirdly, as Dr. Reiss talked in terms of the *acceptance* of or *submission* to social control, my thoughts turned to the "social climate," if you wish to call it that, of our present day. Many scientists fear for those who exercise too much control over self—too much personal control, if you please. Travis and Baruch in their book *Personal Problems of Everyday Life* discuss the matter at some length. With respect to submitting to social controls, Dr. Murray in his article in the *Survey Graphic* for March 1947, entitled "Time for a Positive Morality," speaks of our era as a period of debunking—of chal-

lenging everything considered sacred, binding and restrictive. I recall Dr. E. H. Sutherland, our noted criminologist, saying that a majority of our citizens would rather be caught running a "Stop" light than eating peas with a knife at a banquet. All this cultural conditioning, then, as to *accepting* and *submitting* disturbs me when we consider using such as predictors. Also, there is the lack of agreement on norms, and of stability with respect to them, which might well make for some mechanical problems in Dr. Reiss' plan.

A fourth area for queries is with respect to low economic status and lack of control by the father in such a setting. In contrast to this, one is reminded of the studies which show decreased delinquency in periods of depression. An explanation given is that the father is at home more with his children, to guide and control them. (M. H. Neumeyer, *Juvenile Delinquency in Modern Society*, Van Nostrand Co., 1949, p. 44).

I am impressed with the precautions Mr. Reiss seems to have taken with his statistics. I choose to leave the more careful analysis of this aspect of the study to the statistician.

In closing, I would like to compliment Dr. Reiss on his interest and the work he has done. We in the field of criminology need many more like him to develop the field and give us the necessary tools.

## JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND AMERICAN VALUES\*

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**A**SURVEY of the annual censuses of current research projects submitted by members of the American Sociological Society since 1944 reveals a steady increase—both absolute and proportionate—of those projects concerned with social values. By 1949 there were eight times as many projects of this kind as there had been in 1944 and a percentage of total projects submitted almost three and a half

times greater.<sup>1</sup> These figures constitute merely one of many indications of the renewal of research and theoretical interests in social values. The trend promises to assume major proportions and therefore deserves our critical attention at this time.

How does this neo-value movement in American sociology differ from the earlier

\* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society held in Denver, September 7-9, 1950.

<sup>1</sup> See the Censuses of Current Research Projects, *American Sociological Review*, 9 (October, 1944), 519-530; *ibid.*, 10 (August, 1945), 524-539; *ibid.*, 11 (August, 1946), 446-464; *ibid.*, 12 (August, 1947), 448-471; *ibid.*, 13 (August, 1948), 460-486; *ibid.*, 14 (August, 1949), 507-531.

concerns with social values? What is its relationship to the study of juvenile delinquency? What are its merits and weaknesses? And lastly, what are some of its research and theoretical potentials?

The rational analysis of social values in America<sup>2</sup> as secular data and as constructs was undertaken by economists and philosophers earlier and with greater precision than by sociologists. The work of Cooley on "valuation," one of the first theoretical analyses of social values by a sociologist in this country, is said to have been shaped largely by his training in both economics and philosophy.<sup>3</sup> Credit for the first American sociological analysis of values is occasionally given to Sumner whose "concept," the central part of social institution,<sup>4</sup> was allegedly but another name for social value.<sup>5</sup>

Yet there is virtually no argument against the position that the real starting-point on social values among American sociologists was in Thomas and Znaniecki's work.<sup>6</sup> Not only were they using the concept of social values as an operational tool for a specific piece of empirical research, but they also went beyond the almost exclusively positive connotation which the concept had acquired in economics and philosophy. In economics, "value" had come to mean something desirable, a "utility" or service "capable of satisfying human wants"; likewise in philosophy, particularly ethics, "value" had been identified with "valuable" or desirable. Thomas and Znaniecki, on the other hand, defining social values as "meaningful group objects," implied that the meaning need not be positive. Although they did not raise the issue of "negative values" explicitly in their monograph on *The Polish Peasant*, Thomas

did so later when he wrote that "there are also negative values—things which exist which the person does not want, which he may even despise."<sup>7</sup> This potentially useful typology, however, has been completely neglected until recently. Most social science connotations of "value" have been confined to the positive.

For a generation the Thomas and Znaniecki concepts of attitude, value and definition of the situation served as the only frame of reference of its kind in theoretical interpretation and empirical research on the etiology of such social problems as minority group relations, crime and delinquency, parent-child tension, and teacher-pupil conflict. But the frame of reference which they had provided left many unanswered questions. For example:

1. How do social values differ from other cultural constructs such as standards, ideals, goals, morals, mores and norms?

2. What are the values of our society?

3. Do social values include social processes as well as social objectives or goals?

4. How can a researcher on juvenile delinquency distinguish between the values held by the delinquent and the values articulated by the delinquent for the benefit of the researcher because the delinquent imagines that they are held in highest esteem by the researcher? The result of these unanswered questions was that interpretations of the social problems were scarcely to be distinguished from those based on the theory of culture conflict, and empirical research on the problems was marked by insignificant and contradictory evidence.

Briefly, the interpretations of juvenile delinquency and other social problems, based on the original Thomas and Znaniecki formulation, used this common denominator: Certain unnamed values of an individual (or his norms, standards or what have you) depend largely for their source on the social groups in which he has had this life-orientation. Different groups have different attitudes, values and definitions of the situa-

<sup>2</sup> In Europe, Durkheim and Bougle, his successor and follower in some ways, were among the first of such theorists. See the latter's *The Evolution of Values*, translated by Helen S. Sellars, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926.

<sup>3</sup> *Social Process*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918, Chapters XXV-XXVIII.

<sup>4</sup> *Folkways*, Boston: Ginn and Company, 1906, pp. 53-55.

<sup>5</sup> Francis E. Merrill et al., *Social Problems*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950, p. 54.

<sup>6</sup> *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, Boston: Richard C. Badger, 1918-1920.

<sup>7</sup> Clarence Marsh Case, "The Value Concept in Sociology and Related Fields," *Sociology and Social Research*, 23 (May-June, 1939), 403-430.

tion. Inasmuch as modern societies, unlike primitive and peasant societies, are so complex in group composition there is bound to be contrast and conflict in values between the relatively underprivileged foreign-born child and pupil on the one hand and the privileged native-born parent and teacher on the other.<sup>8</sup>

The empirical research testing Thomas and Znaniecki's theory was twofold: (1) studies of school teachers' definitions of and attitudes toward problem behavior in children and (2) comparisons of values held by delinquents and control groups. The teachers' studies,<sup>9</sup> led by Wickman, apparently the more productive of the two, were, nevertheless, only indirectly concerned with social values. The second type of empirical research, value comparisons of delinquents and control groups, was based on the subjects' replies to questions such as "What makes a good citizen?" and "If you had one hundred dollars, how would you spend it?" along with their responses to tests of ethical knowledge. For the most part these revealed either insignificant or contradictory evidence of value differences between the compared groups.<sup>10</sup> Closely resembling this

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, Louis Wirth, "Culture Conflict and Delinquency," *Social Forces*, 9 (1931), 484-492; Miriam Van Waters, *Youth in Conflict*, New York: Republic Publishing Company, 1925, pp. 124-125; John Levy, "Conflicts of Cultures and Children's Maladjustment," *Mental Hygiene*, 17 (January, 1933), 41-50; Mary J. Shaw, "Social Valuation," in *Man and Society*, edited by Emerson P. Schmidt, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1937, pp. 762-763.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, E. Koster Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teacher's Attitudes*, New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1928; Paul Boynton and B. H. McGaw, "The Characteristics of Problem Children," *Journal of Juvenile Research*, 18 (1934), 215-222; Winifred E. Bain, "A Study of the Attitudes of Teachers Toward Behavior Problems," *Child Development*, 5 (1934), 19-35; Charles Uger, "The Relationship of Teachers' Attitudes to Children's Problem Behavior," *School and Society*, 47 (1938), 246-248.

<sup>10</sup> James M. Reinhardt and Fowler V. Harper, "Social and Ethical Judgments of Two Groups of Boys—Delinquents and Non-Delinquents," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 21 (1930), 364-378; George E. Hill, "The Ethical Knowledge of Delinquent and Non-Delinquent Boys," *The*

type of research was the project by Hartshorne and May<sup>11</sup> which sought to test for children and adolescents the alleged cause-and-effect relationship between membership in "character building" agencies like the Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, YMCA and church groups, and three character traits: honesty, truthfulness and trustworthiness. When the findings failed to show any significant differentials between children who had come under the influence of these agencies as compared with children who had not, the general reaction was to question the long-standing allegation of relationship between agency and trait rather than to re-examine the methodology and concepts used in this study.

In 1938, when Richard Fuller, dependent somewhat on the ideas of Lawrence K. Frank<sup>12</sup> and Willard Waller,<sup>13</sup> formulated a theory of social problems using a framework of conflicting values,<sup>14</sup> and Thorsten Sellin's monograph on culture conflict and crime was published,<sup>15</sup> there was promise of invigorating the values approach to juvenile delinquency and other social problems. Fuller's theory may easily be summarized in three parts: (1) Social values determine what is and what is not a social problem. (2) Values help to create social problems like juvenile delinquency and so become part of the etiology. (3) Social values inter-

*Journal of Social Psychology*, 6 (1935), 107-114; Edward Bartlett and Dale B. Harris, "Personality Factors in Delinquency," *School and Society*, 43 (1936), 653-656.

<sup>11</sup> *Studies in Deceit*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928.

<sup>12</sup> "Social Problems," *American Journal of Sociology*, 30 (January, 1925), 463-473.

<sup>13</sup> "Social Problems and the Mores," *American Sociological Review*, 1 (December, 1936), 922-933.

<sup>14</sup> "Sociological Theory and Social Problems," *Social Forces*, 15 (May, 1937), 496-502; "The Problem of Teaching Social Problems," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (November, 1938), 415-425; Richard C. Fuller and Richard R. Myers, "Some Aspects of a Theory of Social Problems," *American Sociological Review*, 6 (February, 1941), 24-32; Richard C. Fuller and Richard R. Myers, "The Natural History of a Social Problem," *American Sociological Review*, 6 (June, 1941), 320-329.

<sup>15</sup> *Culture Conflict and Crime*, New York: Social Science Research Council Bulletin #41, 1938.

fere with the solution of the problem of juvenile delinquency. Other than providing a convenient scheme for the organization of courses and textbooks on social problems—the expressed purpose of Fuller's original statement—the utility of the theory has not been demonstrated. Furthermore the theory has manifested some of the very shortcomings characteristic of Thomas and Znaniecki's effort twenty years earlier. Consider, for example, Fuller's concept of values, by which he apparently meant the standards, ideals and beliefs of a given community, the value judgments expressed by the delinquent individual constituting the subjective aspect of these so-called values. Although these were not the same as Thomas and Znaniecki's values which had been defined even more broadly to include any pattern of the culture regardless of its moral implication,<sup>16</sup> they were nevertheless almost as ambiguous. Fuller, again like Thomas, made no effort to go beyond occasional identification of specific values relevant to a problem like juvenile delinquency. True, he named "conspicuous consumption" as an illustration of parts two and three of his theory—a value which helps create juvenile delinquency and accordingly becomes an etiological factor while simultaneously it interferes with the solution of the problem.<sup>17</sup> But he left largely to our imaginations the other values—if any—so involved.

Despite the more frequent acknowledgments usually given to Fuller, it is our contention that Sellin deserves more credit for the revitalization of the values approach to delinquency and crime. This he seemingly accomplished by way of integrating the Thomas and Znaniecki theory of external values conflict with others like Healy's work on mental conflict and misconduct,<sup>18</sup> Bain's schizoid culture<sup>19</sup> and Sapir's genuine and

spurious cultures.<sup>20</sup> The result was a theory of psychological conflict referring to individuals whose multiple group identification have internalized within them alternative, conflicting norms and values for given situations.<sup>21</sup>

As far as we can tell, the first outstanding use of this theory of the internal coexistence of conflicting values as a frame of reference for the analysis of a social problem was Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*.<sup>22</sup> Imperfectly expressed in his introductory remarks in terms of the failure of behavior to measure up to the values incorporated in the American Creed, it was nevertheless revealed in the course of his monograph to be a theme of internal conflict of values. In the case of juvenile delinquency one indication of the growing popularity of the theory is its recurrent use as a theme in the issue of the *Annals* in 1949, edited by Sellin, which commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the first juvenile court law.<sup>23</sup> Another indication is its increasing adoption as a pedagogical scheme in the study of juvenile delinquency and other social problems.<sup>24</sup> A few new empirical studies of the relationship between juvenile delinquency and American values have been made within the framework of this theory. But it becomes progressively evident that the following *conceptual, theoretical and methodological* needs will have to be recog-

and *Social Research*, 19 (January–February, 1935), 266–276.

<sup>20</sup> Edward Sapir, "Culture—Genuine and Spurious," *American Journal of Sociology*, 29 (1924), 401–429.

<sup>21</sup> Thorsten Sellin, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–30, 43, 59–61, 68–69.

<sup>22</sup> New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944.

<sup>23</sup> Harry M. Shulman, "The Family and Juvenile Delinquency," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 261 (January, 1949), 21–31; Henry D. McKay, "The Neighborhood and Child Conduct," *ibid.*, 32–41; Marshall B. Clinard, "Secondary Community Influences and Juvenile Delinquency," *ibid.*, 42–54.

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, Paul Tappan, "Delinquency as a Social Problem," in Francis E. Merrill, editor, *Social Problems*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950, pp. 172–173; John F. Cuber and Robert A. Harper, *Problems of American Society: Values in Conflict*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1948, pp. 371–372.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Abbott P. Herman, *An Approach to Social Problems*, Boston: Ginn and Company, 1949, pp. 36–37.

<sup>17</sup> Richard C. Fuller, "The Problem of Teaching Social Problems," *American Journal of Sociology*, 44 (1938), 419.

<sup>18</sup> Louis Wirth, *op. cit.*, p. 484.

<sup>19</sup> Read Bain, "Our Schizoid Culture," *Sociology*

nized before the theory lends itself to productive research on any social problem.

1. *Social values will have to be refined conceptually in at least three dimensions.*

(a) A distinction should be made between "official" values, let us say, which are verbally acceptable to most members of the community and which are indoctrinated in children by the school, church and sacred documents of society, and "private or unofficial" values which are implicitly conveyed to children.<sup>25</sup> Clinical evidence of children's detection of the implicit linguistic paradigms suggests that they may also be engaged in detecting and acting upon the implicit paradigms of cultural evaluation as well as assimilating the explicit values set forth in commands, explanations and exhortations by parents, teachers and clergymen.

(b) A typology of negative as well as positive values should be drawn up and the relations between these values and delinquency explored. The distinction between positive and negative values, originally made by Thomas and Znaniecki but for the most part ignored since their monograph was published, has only now been revived in a recent study of delinquency by DiVesta wherein a positive value is defined as "a circumstance of living which the individual cherishes. A negative value is a circumstance of living which the individual shuns."<sup>26</sup>

(c) A distinction should be made between social processes or norms and social objectives or goals within the framework of social values. As recently as 1947, values were still being defined in a dictionary of sociology as "those objects, acts, or modes of action which have meaning for society,

<sup>25</sup> Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," in *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949, pp. 147-148; Mildred Dorr and Robert J. Havighurst, "Methods of Studying Values," in *Adolescent Character and Personality*, edited by Robert J. Havighurst and Hilda Taba, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1949, pp. 289-290.

<sup>26</sup> Francis J. DiVesta, *Process Concepts and Values in the Social and Personal Adjustments of Adolescents*, Ithaca: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Memoir 287, November, 1941, p. 4.

which it regards highly, considers particularly worthy to emulate or to guide the thought, aim, and activity of its component members."<sup>27</sup> The need in this connection has frequently been recognized but seldom carried over into actual research.<sup>28</sup> Justification for the distinction between processes or norms and objectives or goals lies in the clue it is likely to provide, accounting for the insignificant and contradictory evidence in studies of values differentials between delinquents and non-delinquents. It is possible that the failure to make the distinction has clouded the likelihood that the goals of delinquents and non-delinquents are essentially the same while their norms or processes differ. None has expressed this more eloquently than Merton<sup>29</sup> in pointing out that goals and norms are analytically separable. Goals comprise a frame of aspirational reference while norms, on the other hand, regulate and control the acceptable modes of reaching out for these goals. These regulatory norms are not necessarily identical with technical or efficiency norms, so that many procedures which from the standpoint of particular individuals would be most efficient in securing desired values—like the exercise of force or fraud—are ruled out of the institutional area of permitted conduct. The result is that there may develop a stress upon given goals, involving comparatively little concern with the institutionally prescribed norms of striving toward these goals. Individuals are led to center their emotional convictions about the culturally acclaimed objectives, with far less emotional support for prescribed processes of reaching out for them. When there is such a differential emphasis upon goals or objectives on the one hand and norms and processes on the other, the latter may be

<sup>27</sup> Constantine Panunzio, *Major Social Institutions*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947, pp. 567-568.

<sup>28</sup> See, for example, Nathaniel Cantor, "Crime—A Political Problem," *Ideas for Action*, 1 (Fall, 1946), 5; DiVesta, *op. cit.*, 4; Donald R. Taft, *Criminology*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950, pp. 231-232; Merton, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-149.

<sup>29</sup> Merton, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-129.

come so weakened by the stress on goals as to lead to the behavior of individuals being limited only by considerations of technical expediency. The result is delinquency or crime.

2. *A second need is for hypotheses to explain the relation of inconsistent values held by the delinquent to inconsistency in the delinquent's behavior.* It has long been known, for example, that children who are dishonest in one context are honest in another.<sup>30</sup> Is it possible that, contrary to the traditional version of a child torn between the Scylla of one value and the Charybdis of another, the values in question are compartmentalized? Perhaps the problem of inconsistency is of little importance to the child because of the intellectual grasp by one value and the emotional hold of the other. Healy and Bronner, it is recalled, observed that the delinquent is often "fully able to express his conscious belief that delinquency represents wrong conduct, but evidently his feeling about wrongness has not been sufficiently strong to function as a preventive."<sup>31</sup> Is it possible that the delinquent's values may be logically inconsistent to the researcher but not to the delinquent who may be able to rationalize any such difficulty? Are the values of a delinquent which apparently differ from each other really consistent in that one applies to one situation and another applies to another? How common is the experience of one graduate of England's famous Borstal system who pointed out in a semi-biographical account in later years that Borstal "to some extent revived the school-boy values of fair-play and team spirit but their application remained limited to play and teams. Crime . . . remained as attractive as ever . . ."<sup>32</sup>

3. *A third need to be met in future values studies of delinquency is for a more versatile utilization of methodological techniques.* Es-

says on leading, value-seeking questions; questionnaires in which subjects are asked to check their agreement, disagreement or indecisiveness concerning statements of value judgment; problem situations followed by alternative courses of action and a list of reasons representing different values supporting these actions, the subjects being asked to choose courses of action and then support these choices with reasons—all these are useful methodological techniques. But they have limitations. It is quite likely that even under the umbrella of anonymity the subject feels pressure to conform to social expectations and may present his version of the official ideology representing that which has explicitly been emphasized and rewarded.<sup>33</sup>

The need here is for methodologies which will bring out the subject's naive utterances.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps the Cornell Study of student values, still in progress, is worthy of mention in this context as suggestive of what can be done. Before a detailed, culminating questionnaire was administered in the spring of 1950 to a cross-section of the student population, intensive preliminary studies were made for the purpose of yielding hypotheses on the range of students' values, their development, change and functions, as well as indices by which to locate and measure them. In order to analyze mobilizations of values in specific conflict situations in this preliminary part of the study, two methodological techniques now familiar to most sociologists were utilized: situational analysis and sociodrama. Situational analysis involved the selection—or the creation if necessary—of specific conflict situations, e.g. a party, an organization meeting, a class discussion. Planted in the locale were at least two observers who studied what was happening and later recorded it. After the session was over, the participants were interviewed in detail concerning their perception of the event. Their evaluations of what went on, their images of their own behavior and that of the other participants,

<sup>30</sup> Wirth, *op. cit.*, p. 492.

<sup>31</sup> *New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936, p. 11.

<sup>32</sup> Mark Benney (pseud.), *Angels in Undress*, New York: Random House, 1937, p. 216.

<sup>33</sup> Dorr and Havighurst, *op. cit.*, pp. 289-290.

<sup>34</sup> Wirth, *op. cit.*, pp. 489-490.

their justifications for that behavior, and the motivations they imputed to the other participants were later compared with the original records of the observers.

Sociodrama involved the outlining briefly of a conflict situation requiring decision and choice by the participants. The roles of the participants were defined to them and the situation briefly specified. Their instructions were to present the essence of the conflict to the audience, and to act out resolution to it. Here the useful data to the researchers consisted of the justifications selected and developed by "equally justified" individuals in conflict with each other; the justifications underlying the compromises made in resolving the conflict; the type of resolution; and the reactions of approval or disapproval on the part of the audience in the ensuing discussion.

The hypotheses and indices yielded by methodological techniques such as these were then utilized to construct the questionnaire which was administered to the cross-section of students, permitting at least partial tests of some of the hypotheses and determining the frequency with which selected value-patterns appeared among the students. The hope is that this will eventuate, after processing and tabulations are completed in the near future, in a value inventory for the student body which will answer some of the following questions.

When are value considerations called upon to justify and "explain" behavior and

decisions? That is, when and to what degree are choices and decisions related to value considerations, and when and to what degree are they apparently unrelated to considerations of value? What are the most important types of value-orientation among students? What is the intensity of conviction with respect to certain values? To what extent are these values integrated? To what extent is there clarity or confusion in basic value orientation? How do different types of personality differ with respect to their personal values? What are the social mechanisms by which personal values are modified, reconciled when in conflict, or, for that matter, repressed? Under what circumstances do conflicts between personal values occur? Is there some way to determine a hierarchy of personal values, to measure the relative motivating strength of one personal value compared with another? How can known attitudes be interpreted as indices of personal values? How do personal values come into existence and decline? What are the social factors which make for changes in personal values in one individual? In a society?

It is conceivable that a considerable part of the methodology described is adaptable to the problem area which has served as the central core of this paper. And judging from the experience of the study of students' values, the research and theoretical potentials of further values studies on juvenile delinquency are promising.

## DISCUSSION

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Mr. Barron has presented an interesting paper, and one that is highly suggestive. I am impressed with the current research which he describes, now being conducted on the value-systems of college students at Cornell University. The questions to be raised and the hypotheses to be tested are well-selected. This Cornell study should bring a significant contribution to the literature regarding values. Moreover, a

comprehensive, systematic and rigorous analysis of American values is particularly timely today when American value-systems, especially in their "ideal" or ideological aspects, find themselves in world competition with other ideologies as never before in the history of the United States.

Mr. Barron's comprehensive review of the literature regarding values contains many im-

portant evaluative insights. The concept of "negative" values—what the individual doesn't want, what he shies away from—may well become as sociologically relevant and useful as the concept of "positive" values. Yet this brings us to a still more important matter needing clarification—the relation of *ends* and *means* in respect to values. For a negative value may sometimes be a means to a positive value or end—as painful tooth extraction (a negative value) may be a means to physical well-being (a positive value) after the diseased tooth is removed. Another example would be war as an implicit means to the positive value of full employment. It is likely, also, that many cultural objects we think of as values—money, for instance—are essentially *means*, through their use, to the more basic, subjective value of "happiness."

As some writers have noted, the individual in American society is confronted with a choice between values, which, like any choice, is emotionally disturbing. And many values of American culture have been observed to be—to some degree, at least—mutually exclusive. This holds particularly for the values of the "ideal" culture pattern—including honesty, fair play, love thy neighbor, etc.—being mutually exclusive, in operation, of certain values of the "real" culture pattern such as making a lot of money, keeping ahead of the next fellow, etc. Even *within* the ideal and real culture patterns, as Sellin has indicated, inconsistencies between values arise. In any case, major differences between the values of the real and ideal culture patterns—and the fact that children are frequently trained not to distinguish between the ideal and the real—are responsible for much confusion, social ineffectiveness (in the full sense of the term), emotional trauma when the child discovers at various times that the values of the ideal culture pattern are scorned in everyday behavior, and guilt feelings when he himself acts in terms of the values of the real culture pattern and breaks what we might call the *value-rules* of the ideal culture pattern.

In addition, emotional conflict and personal disorganization (which some writers have claimed sometimes resolves or expresses itself through delinquency) may arise from the difference between what the individual *can* achieve or really *wants* to achieve, and those things he feels he *should* achieve because of his value-conditioning. And we should keep in mind that the emotional strains and tensions concurrent with goal-striving, and the possible dissatisfaction

at failure to achieve value-goals, may sometimes be expressed through delinquency. Thus in addition to a delineation of positive and negative values, which Mr. Barron suggests, I believe that an analysis of the *substitutive* or *compensatory* values in American culture—and their relation to delinquency—might well be undertaken. It is not unlikely that much delinquency is of a compensatory nature, occurring because delinquency has been chosen as a compensatory outlet in preference to other non-delinquent substitutive behavior. Indeed, the basic problem in dealing with delinquency is to motivate the delinquent's behavior in terms of non-delinquent values and non-delinquent techniques of achieving values, and perhaps to substitute compensatory *non-material* values for the highly material ones of our culture. Yet, to be effective, this program would require a far-reaching social change tantamount to a revolution. For it is probably inevitable that a certain amount of property crime should occur in a society such as ours which stresses competitive material values. Some individuals, in their striving for these values, are apt to break the rules of the game, and sometimes get caught at it.

A researcher in values must also bear in mind that the individual's values are largely determined by his statuses and group affiliations—both at any one time and at different times in the course of his life. Besides changing throughout life, his values may at any one time be inconsistent due to his various age, socio-economic, and other statuses at that one time. A certain confusion in values—and delinquency—are to be expected in a large, complex society such as our own where the individual's interests, due to his varied statuses and group affiliations, are not clear, nor are the non-delinquent techniques of attaining them clearly prescribed.

Mr. Barron raises an important question when he asks how a researcher on juvenile delinquency can distinguish between the *real* values held by the delinquent and those values *articulated* by the delinquent because he imagines they are held in highest esteem by the researcher. An even more basic question along this line might be: How may the individual's *real values*, which are essentially attitudes and therefore largely or completely in the individual's unconscious, ever be known to the researcher without the aid of a technique such as psychoanalysis to probe the individual's unconscious and gain insight into the conditioning

experiences of the individual's past and their formative influences on his values? The surface interview is by its nature handicapped in trying to uncover the delinquent's actual values.

The problem of values in their relation to delinquency, as Mr. Barron has shown, is of distinct sociological importance. The implications in this sphere are still but imperfectly understood. In addition to those already suggested, questions for investigation might include such ones as the following: How does the basic conflict between the ideal and real culture patterns, the gap between the myths and the

realities of American culture, relate to delinquency? Is the delinquent imperfectly socialized in terms of the myths, or the realities? Is the conscience-forming power of the myths relatively weak in the case of the delinquent? Would a more realistic approach, in child training, to the distinction between the myths and the actualities predispose towards less emotional conflict and perhaps less delinquency? Or might it conduce towards a greater efficiency in delinquent behavior, and less *post facto* guilt? These questions might well be taken up in future research.

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## NOTES ON RESEARCH AND TEACHING



### IS THERE A NATURAL HISTORY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS?\*

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Nearly a decade ago R. G. Fuller and R. Myers advanced the idea that specific social problems could be studied profitably within the conceptual framework of a natural history. Starting with the notion that social problems are a function of value conflicts, these writers claimed that there is a common order of development through which they pass, consisting of certain temporal sequences discernible in their emergence and maturation. These sequences, they held, can be factored into stages or phases, each of which anticipates its successor in time and each of which contains new elements which mark it off from its predecessor. The natural history stages through which the emergent social problem evolves were specified by Fuller and Myers as those of "awareness," "policy-formation," and "reform."

The writers made no effort to test their formulation but rather sought to sustain it "by way of illustration" with empirical data gathered by graduate students on the rise of and public reaction to trailer camps in the city of Detroit. The data consisted largely of newspaper stories, letters to editors and commentaries by columnists, supplemented by statements collected from various administrative authorities: police, health officers and school officials.<sup>1</sup>

It is from this almost purely deductive theory and meager empirical sustenance that the natural history concept has grown to occupy a more than tenuous foothold in the literature on social problems. Those social pathologists who have cited the idea seem to have been unaware or indifferent to the threadbare ideology

and slim empirical basis upon which it rests.<sup>2</sup> While the apparent anachronism of the concept need not lead us arbitrarily to discard it, nevertheless it has seemed to us that a much more adequate grounding in empirical research is the minimum essential for its acceptance as a sociological generalization or as a lead to further research into the dynamics of social deviation and societal reaction. With this in mind we have for the past several years conducted investigations into the histories of the appearance and public control of trailer camps in five California cities, namely, Santa Monica, San Diego, Berkeley, Oakland, and Los Angeles. For data we have exploited the files of newspapers, planning commissions and zoning agencies, along with the minutes of city councils. These were enlarged and elaborated upon through interviews with various city officials. In addition, we have collected case histories of 25 individual trailer camps throughout the Los Angeles area.<sup>3</sup>

In pursuing our discussion of the natural history concept from the standpoint of its applicability to the trailer camp problem in California communities we will more or less follow the conceptual scheme laid down by Fuller and Myers. Our data will be reviewed with an eye to verifying the existence and progressive emergence of distinctive stages or phases of awareness, policy-formation and re-

<sup>2</sup> Reference to the natural history of social problems will be found in the following: *An Outline of the Principles of Sociology*, edited by Robert E. Park, 1939, pp. 5-6; *New Outline of the Principles of Sociology*, edited by Alfred McClung Lee, 1946, pp. 5-6; A. M. Lee and E. G. Lee, *Social Problems in America*, 1949, pp. 15-17; J. Cuber and R. Harper, *Problems of American Society: Values in Conflict*, 1948, pp. 31 ff.; Francis Merrill et al., *Social Problems*, 1950, pp. 54-55; R. E. L. Faris, *Social Disorganization*, 1948, Chapter 11; also the comment by J. H. S. Bossard, on the paper by Fuller and Myers, *op. cit.*; L. Wilson and W. Kolb, *Sociological Analysis*, 1949, pp. 780-787.

<sup>3</sup> Collected under the direction of Mr. Harvey Schechter, who also assisted in the accumulation of other data.

\* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society held in Denver, September 7-9, 1950.

<sup>1</sup> R. G. Fuller, and R. R. Myers, "The Natural History of Social Problems," *American Sociological Review*, 6 (June, 1940), 320-329.

form. Preliminary to this we will briefly summarize some of the essential facts about the rise of trailer camps in California communities.

In many ways the appearance and growth of trailer camping in California closely resembled that which Fuller and Myers found in the Detroit area. The exact date when house trailers first appeared in California remains vague but the indications are that they had begun to come in small numbers during the late 1920's and early 1930's. By 1936 and 1937 passenger-car trailers were sufficiently numerous to provoke state and local legislation. However, the greatest accretion in numbers of these trailers came after 1937.<sup>4</sup> As in Detroit, seasonal and vacational uses of the trailers predominated at first, in time giving place to settled residency in trailer homes within camp areas.

One outstanding difference must be noted between the history of trailer camps in Detroit and in the cities of the southern California area. We refer here to the prior existence of auto camps, dating as far back as 1914, for example, in Los Angeles. These camps in reality were tent camps, ostensibly for the accommodation of tourists and transients but actually providing permanent living quarters for a substantial number of people. Several of these camps were sponsored by the city of Los Angeles in public parks; others grew up spontaneously on the ocean beaches. The significance of these early auto tent camps lies in the continuity of experience which communities had with them and later with the trailer camps which succeeded them. As we shall see later this had an important effect upon the history of policy-formation towards trailer camps in these communities.

Following Fuller and Myers (and Phelps before them) we expectantly turned to the files of the newspapers in the several California cities to study the articulate reflection of the value conflicts over trailer camps. However, we were promptly struck by the relative absence of controversial reporting and editorial discussion of such establishments. In none of the cities, as far as we were able to determine, did anything like a public interest and concern with trailer camps come to a critical focus in the newspapers. In Los Angeles where we took a sample from a leading newspaper covering a sixteen-year period we were able to list only

eight small news items which were critical or disparaging of these camps. Certainly in contrast with the stormy controversies perennially aired in Los Angeles newspapers over vivisection, traffic difficulties, communism, and smog, trailers and trailer camps received only the most cursory and limited coverage.

Is all of this to say that there was no awareness of trailer camps as problems in our five California communities? By no means can this be said to be the case, as the most casual kind of inquiry of public health officials and zoning administrators revealed. Trailer camps at different times and at different places have been and continue today to be sources of annoyance and irritation to individuals and to groups both public and private. Importantly, however, the specific irritations have varied greatly with respect to their substance and with respect to the context of symbols in which they were publicized. In one community the trailer camps were seen primarily as a health problem, in another as a sanitation and housing problem, in another as a fire hazard, and in still others as a police problem.

Neighborhood awareness of trailer camps as problems manifested itself only in sporadic and attenuated form. In none of the 25 histories of trailer camps in the Los Angeles community did we encounter evidence of wholesale protest by neighbors in the areas where the camps were located. In only two of our five cities did we find situations which might qualify as neighborhood conflict. One was in an outlying area of San Diego, Pacific Beach, where an unsightly trailer camp had evolved out of an equally unsightly auto tent camp. In this case the long dispute remained localized and never did come to engage the over-all interest of the larger San Diego community despite the continuing awareness of the problem by public officials.

In the history of trailer camp regulation in Santa Monica several instances of neighborhood controversy came to light. In these cases protests against the granting of a variance from existing zoning restrictions on trailer camps were organized to the extent of being in petition form. One of the more extended of these controversies culminated in a public hearing before the city council. At this time 28 persons spoke in favor of the variance and 39 spoke against it.<sup>5</sup> However, to interpret the latter

<sup>4</sup> From figures on trailer registrations, State Department of Motor Vehicles, letter dated April 6, 1948.

<sup>5</sup> Files of the City Planning Commission, Santa Monica, January 25, 1938.

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as a kind of pristine uprising based upon outraged neighborly feelings would be a gross error. The controversy hung purely and simply upon the issue of property values as can be seen in part from the spatial distribution of the residences of the complainants and of those speaking in favor of the variance. From the accompanying map we see that fully one-third

area, solicited and engaged relatives, tenants, friends and business associates to speak at the hearing, where they were opposed by the property owners who stood to lose if the variance were granted.

In the city of Oakland the trailer camp problem materialized in the early 1930's almost wholly within the context of the larger problem

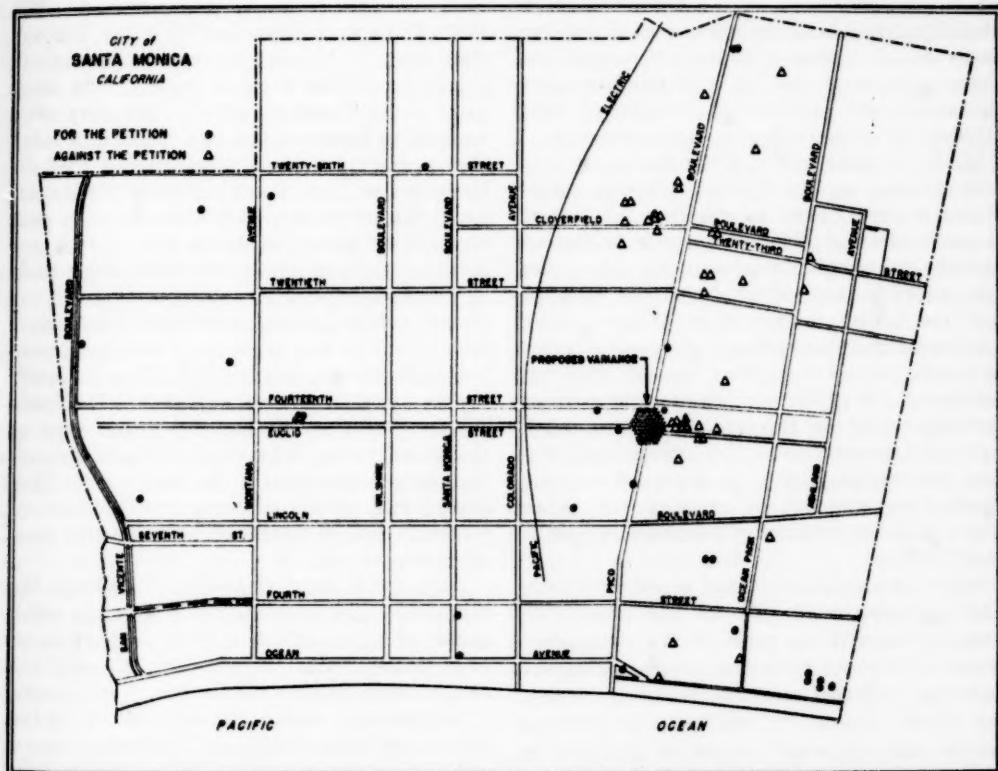


FIGURE 1. Spatial Distribution of Residences of Persons Speaking for and against Proposed Variance for Establishment of Trailer Park in Santa Monica, California

of those arguing against the variance lived within the immediate vicinity of the area proposed as a trailer camp. Most of the remainder of this group were concentrated in a second area not far removed, where a similar threat to property values had arisen in the past. Those in favor of official permission to establish the trailer camp were widely dispersed through the city, with nine out of 28 living north of Wilshire Boulevard where higher property values lie. In effect, what happened, as we determined from informal inquiries, was that a person of considerable political and economic power, owning a lot in the lower middle-class residential

of migratory displaced farm populations from Oklahoma, Texas and other drought areas. The public reaction to trailer camps was simply a minor phase of the swelling community antagonism towards undesirable migrants in general—the so-called "Oakies"—and it was couched in terms of migrants' not paying taxes, of health and sanitation menaces and of competition with local labor. We should emphasize that in Oakland complaints coming to public officials against trailer residents were almost entirely from individuals and never did an organized public opinion get generated and channelled through the newspapers.

At this point we may summarize by saying without reservation that in none of the communities we studied did an awareness of trailer camp problems become the generalized, multi-group, multi-sided phenomenon that was claimed for it in Detroit. Instead, awareness of the problem took the shape of segmental reactions of individuals or of one or two groups with special interests at stake, or else it was the harried awareness of a small number of administrative officials in whose jurisdiction the trailer camps happened to fall. In several instances the awareness of the problem gave indications of having been organized and solicited by an individual or a single group.

While we have not had the opportunity to examine data on the Detroit situation, nonetheless we are moved to ask how far factors of solicitation and contrivance may have entered into the community awareness of the trailer camp problem there. From one source we learn that the trailer residences in Detroit which culminated in litigation to compel removal were an invasion of some high tax, heavily restricted residential areas.<sup>6</sup> We are led to wonder about the importance of this challenge to a small number of property-conscious, articulate middle-class citizenry in originating discussion in other middle-class groups,<sup>7</sup> in pressing for police action and in reinforcing attitudes of public health officers.

Sober second estimates and experiences have clearly demonstrated that for the country as a whole many if not most of the community abuses and moral threats attributed to trailer residents and seriously chronicled by Fuller and Myers simply did not exist—at least in greater than expected frequencies. Thus it is now recognized that trailer populations did not become relief and welfare problems, nor did they bring a wave of immorality with them in communities where they stopped, nor did their children raise local delinquency rates. So far as school problems are concerned it is now conceded that trailer children have been

<sup>6</sup> J. W. Golinkin, "Trailers," *Fortune Magazine*, March, 1937, p. 220.

<sup>7</sup> Fuller and Myers mention the following, as the groups doing the protesting against trailer camps, all with a distinct savor of middle class and with the suggestion of overlapping membership: tax-payers groups, men's clubs, parent-teacher associations, social workers and real estate associations. *Op. cit.*, p. 324.

confused with children of migratory families in general.<sup>8</sup>

Many of the allegations made about trailer camps in the middle 1930's clearly were generically similar to accusations which have been levied against migrants for centuries. Undoubtedly they found nourishment and revival value in the extravagant pronouncements made at the time when trailers in large numbers began to burden the nation's roads, around 1935-1937. These were epitomized in Roger Babson's claim that "in 20 years one-half of the nation's population will be living in trailers."<sup>9</sup> In retrospect writers came to refer to this very early reaction to house trailers as a "mad interlude," during which it was seriously feared that the house trailer was about to revolutionize the social life of the nation.<sup>10</sup> Following the peak of agitation over trailers in 1937 rumor and myth subsided to the point where they could be more objectively evaluated in terms of the special problems they presented. These were few, not many, and in the main centered around health, sanitation, and housing. Clear testimony to this comes from a survey of 143 California cities which showed that in 64 per cent of the communities regulation of trailer camps was the responsibility of the health or building department, or a combination of the two, or a combination of health or building with some other departments.<sup>11</sup>

Although Fuller and Myers claimed that the residence-trailer problem was a situation which could be observed on a local and emergent basis,<sup>12</sup> they failed to see that it could not be observed *completely* in this way. Almost simultaneously with the increase of trailer homes and camps to visible numbers, county and state governments as well as municipalities

<sup>8</sup> Authorities in California, for example, accused trailer residents of dumping 50,000 extra children in their schools. See D. O. Cowgill, *Mobile Homes—A Study of Trailer Life*, 1941, Chap. IX; *The House Trailer—Its Effect on State and Local Government*, American Municipal Association, 1937.

<sup>9</sup> See *Trailer Travel*, December, 1936.

<sup>10</sup> See "Trailer Epidemic," *Fortune Magazine*, January 1937; also, article in *Los Angeles Times*, December 4, 1938.

<sup>11</sup> *Report on Auto Courts and Trailer Camps Inside Incorporated Areas*, State of California, Division of Immigration and Housing, Los Angeles, May 27, 1946. Many of the smaller communities had no health departments and necessarily placed the camps under jurisdiction of the police.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 327.

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were alerted to the problem. So, for example, in 1937, the year the crisis was reached in Detroit, there were already 10,000 bills before state, county and town legislative bodies.<sup>13</sup> It is additionally significant that many nationally organized agencies as well as the Federal Government had entered into local controversies over trailer camps. These included, besides the Federal Security Agency, manufacturers of trailer equipment, insurance companies, tourist associations, park operators, associations of fairs and expositions, associations of municipal officers and of law officers. Publications of all of these agencies and also proprietary magazines with national circulation served to foment a national awareness of trailer housing and trailer life. We might pause here to raise many questions about the interplay of national awareness of the trailer-residence problem and local awareness. However, it will suffice to consider the former in relation to the second stage of the natural history formulation, namely, policy formation.

The authors of the concept of the natural history of a social problem held that policy formation takes place locally on three interrelated levels: first, discussion on an informal basis among neighbors; second, discussion by organized pressure groups; third, discussion among specialists and administrators. According to their theory the ends of civic action are largely the subject matter on the first two levels, while means become the subject at the administrative level.<sup>14</sup> Thus we are given a picture of the progression of discussion and opinion from informal to organized, from an ends-orientation to a means-orientation. Although administrative officials participate in policy formation at all times, on the whole we see them passively standing by until it is their turn to take over from the citizenry and implement decisions already reached by democratic procedure.

Search as we would, we were unable to discover any but the most rudimentary indications of a process of this sort in our selection of California communities. In Los Angeles, especially, and in San Diego the gradual evolution of trailer camps from auto camps produced a continuity of policy formation, so that in reality the advent of the trailer camps imposed little more than the necessity for administra-

tive modifications of a general policy already in existence. This necessity did indeed rest upon interim complaints and protests by individuals and by the occasional organized group. However, to say that they interacted sufficiently to beget anything more than a few negative facets of policy to guide administrators would be grossly incorrect.

It is our impression that policy formation towards trailer camps in other California communities has been largely unilateral and non-reciprocal on the part of city councils, planning and zoning committees, health and housing authorities. Policies have been formed with but a minimum of spontaneously generating public opinion as an antecedent. An arresting demonstration of this comes from the survey of trailer camps previously alluded to, in which it came out that 23 communities in the state had trailer camp ordinances without, however, any trailer camps to regulate.<sup>15</sup> In other words here we find the policy formed but no problem and no history of the problem in most of the cases. Why and how does policy get formulated under conditions in which the objective situation towards which it is directed is absent? Clearly the answer has to be sought in the anticipatory, positive conception of much governmental administrative action, and in the special nature of urban civic participation which abets it. We are obviously dealing with tendencies of administrators who, faced with the absence of a multi-sided public opinion and with the exacting demands and importunities of pressure groups claiming to be public heralds, necessarily take over or pre-empt the policy-forming prerogatives of the community at large.

The history of the ordinance for the regulation of trailer camps in Berkeley sheds much light on the encysted character of the administrative process in policy formation. It is noteworthy that there has never been a trailer camp in Berkeley chiefly because quite early they were zoned into an industrial area far from highways, where no camp was likely to locate. While the hotel and apartment-house owners partially influenced early legislation, it was primarily the internal interaction of the city council and planning department that was responsible for the substance of the first ordinance. Official persons there, motivated by high ideals of civic improvement, more or less independently decided that

<sup>13</sup> J. W. Golinkin, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 324.

<sup>15</sup> *Report on Auto Courts and Trailer Camps.*

Berkeley was not suited for trailer camps and acted accordingly.

There is much proof that intercommunication and interaction between administrators in different localities has been more influential in policy formation on trailer camps than the interaction of these administrators with their local communities. Files and minutes of the city councils and planning commissions which we examined revealed much similarity with respect to nationally distributed studies, reports, recommendations and model ordinances. The trailer camp ordinance in Oakland was very closely patterned after the one in Miami, Florida; similarities between the ordinances of many other cities could also be cited.<sup>16</sup> It follows that administrators are alert to what is being done in other cities and often competitively determined not to be outdone with regard to the modernity of their legislation.<sup>17</sup> This not infrequently means that they are ahead of or tangential to public opinion or occasionally in opposition to it.

The terminal phase of the Fuller-Myers three-stage evolution of a social problem is reform, distinguishable as the ultimate reconciliation of conflicting values and interests held by the groups participating in policy formation. At this point administrators and experts assume responsibility for implementing policy with action. Presumably there is an eventual harmonious integration of the problem situation into the community life.

In searching for evidence of such a stage of reform in our investigation of trailer camps in California cities we were everywhere impressed by the limited and uneven success of efforts at reform and by the continued frustration of administrative regulation. The absence of any real reform in these communities was clearly a function of the failure of policy-forming groups to reach a decision on the basic question of *whether trailers are vehicles or whether they are dwellings*. While the formal apparatus for regulation was established in all of the five communities, it did not follow that the apparatus worked. Only in Berkeley did we find an effective coping with the trailer residence problem. This in real-

<sup>16</sup> Letter files of City Planning Commission, Oakland, February 28, 1936; D. O. Cowgill, *The House Trailer*, pp. 9-17.

<sup>17</sup> In Berkeley we asked a member of the planning commission how they happened to get ordinances like the one on trailer camps. He replied, "Oh, usually a councilman hears about an ordinance some other city has and decides we ought to have one like it. So we get busy and pass one."

ity amounted to a denial that trailers are houses and passing them on to nearby communities, a solution possible only because the latter communities had lower housing standards than Berkeley and were willing to accept the trailers.

In Oakland the record of trailer camp regulation has been by all tokens one of dismal failure. All during the 1930's administrative action met with sabotage and evasion. At no time did trailer camps in this city ever comply with minimum housing and sanitation standards. Typically the resort to legal compulsion through the office of the district attorney has brought only temporary compliances with the city ordinance on trailer camps, followed by its disregard when the threat of legal sanction subsided. During the late war the situation decayed almost to the point of anarchy. Today conditions have improved, but, in the opinion of the planning official in charge, the city of Oakland has never faced its responsibilities with respect to the control of trailer residences and camps.

In Santa Monica a somewhat more favorable history of trailer camp regulation obtained. However, even here it is questionable whether many of the camps ever fully measured up to the housing and sanitary requirements laid down by the health and building departments. During and shortly after the recent war the situation worsened and "bootleg" camps grew up as they did in Oakland, with a general disregard for sanitation as well as for zoning rules. While trailers are pretty well confined to their zones at this writing, the new planning and health officials are far from reconciled to the desirability of having trailer camps as permanent features of the city.

Although San Diego has created zones for trailer parks, nevertheless it has had to compromise its standards by recognizing temporary zones or areas for trailers within residential areas. The eye-sore camp at Pacific Beach, which is one of these, stands as a monument to the failure of abatement proceedings by the city against misde-meaning trailer camp operators. Political intrigues plus lack of cooperation between the health department, city attorney's office and the courts have not only stymied regulatory action but have induced cynicism and apathy in public officials with regard to the possibilities of legal remedies in the situation.

Despite its long experience with regulation of public camps it is doubtful that Los Angeles has achieved an integrated and workable policy on trailer camps. There are many well-ordered and even beautiful trailer parks in the city, but they

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can scarcely be credited to the efficacy of municipal control; the co-existence of many ill-kept and unsanitary camps forcefully attests to this. The plaint of the officials in the public health department speaks poignantly of the chronicity of the problem:<sup>18</sup> "Nothing gives this department more trouble than public camps. They (*sic*) want to add lean-tos and shacks to trailers. Building, plumbing, housing and sanitary regulations are all overlooked." At the present time the policy of the planning commission in Los Angeles is to allow new trailer camps only on highways within industrial and conditional use zones. Behind this lies the expressed conviction of the Office of Zoning Administration that trailer residences are clearly sub-standard housing.<sup>19</sup>

In conclusion we can say with considerable certainty that the Fuller-Myers formulation of a natural history of social problems is inapplicable to the rise and regulation of trailer camps in California cities. Furthermore it appears to be an insufficient conceptualization of the interplay of public opinion in culture conflicts in modern urban society.

#### SOME CULTURAL-LAG PROBLEMS WHICH SOCIAL SCIENCE HAS SOLVED

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That the present atomic crisis is the result of the lag of social sciences behind the accelerating evolution of physical sciences has been widely asserted. In a pair of previous articles the present writer has summarized evidence which tends to confirm this belief.<sup>1</sup> Any long-range solution of international relations would appear to require the overcoming of this atomic cultural lag. An effective operational science of social control must be applied to the problems of world law and order. But this raises a question which must be frankly and skeptically confronted: Are there any actual precedents for believing that science can avert or cure the disastrous consequences of inventors' ingenuities?

<sup>18</sup> *Report on Auto Courts and Trailer Camps*, p. 11.

<sup>19</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, September 18, 1949, p. 6, part 11.

<sup>1</sup> Hornell Hart, "Atomic Cultural Lag," *Sociology and Social Research*, 32 (1948), 768-775 and 845-855.

#### CULTURAL LAGS HAVE MENACED BEFORE THE ATOMIC BOMB

The swift accelerations in culture since the Industrial Revolution have been almost entirely in the realms of mastery over the material, the biological, and the psychological environments. But the greater the increase in man's power over matter and life, the greater the likelihood that damage will result from careless or exploitive use of these enhanced powers. Every sub-social advance thus creates a problem in social control.

This *type* of problem is not new. Mankind has been exposed to such dangers since long before the dawn of history. Indeed, before men created their own technological menaces they met similar problems from high cliffs, wild animals, bacteria, storms, earthquakes, and the like.

As technologies advance, the amount of destruction produced by a given accident or attack tends to increase. Both the amount of damage per individual and the number of individuals involved increase. These dangers are further swollen by growth in the sizes of cities, factories, crowds, ships, trains, and other units subject to damage. They are also increased by the greater amount of interdependence created by specialization. In particular, the size of the disaster threatened by the atomic bomb and by other modern technologies has mounted with the upsweeping curves of technological progress.

In dealing with both accidental and exploitive dangers, men have created mechanical, chemical and biological safety devices, have used psychological warnings, have enacted rules and laws, and have developed inspection and enforcement agencies. By these means some of the menaces created by modern civilization have been overcome. The conquest of six such problems is represented graphically by the indexes shown in Chart 1. Each of these six problems presented itself in terms of high death-rates, due to cultural lag.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The method here used to determine the existence of cultural lag is different from that employed in the articles referred to in footnote 1. The latter dealt with atomic cultural lag, which was there measured in terms of the comparative swiftness and acceleration in growth of the killing area from a given base and of the governing area from any given capital. In the cases cited in the present article, technological inventions or other basic social changes clearly produced high death rates. The amount of cultural lag in such cases is measurable in terms of the length of time required

## RAILWAY FATALITIES

One of the clearer cases of the lag of social control behind technological progress is represented by graph F, in the lower, right-hand corner of Chart 1, representing the number of persons killed in steam-railway accidents per billion freight-ton miles. The invention of the locomotive, and the swift development of railroad lines, with increasing rates of speed and with heavier and heavier loads to be hauled, created hazards for both the train crews and the

safety devices, by the systematic study and application of safety methods, by the employment of effective social psychology, and by the enactment of state and national legislation, together with the economic pressure of insurance rates and of decreasing legal liabilities as the accident rate was pushed downward.

## AIR-TRAVEL FATALITIES

Just above the graph of railroad fatalities in Chart 1 is a similar curve of air-passenger deaths

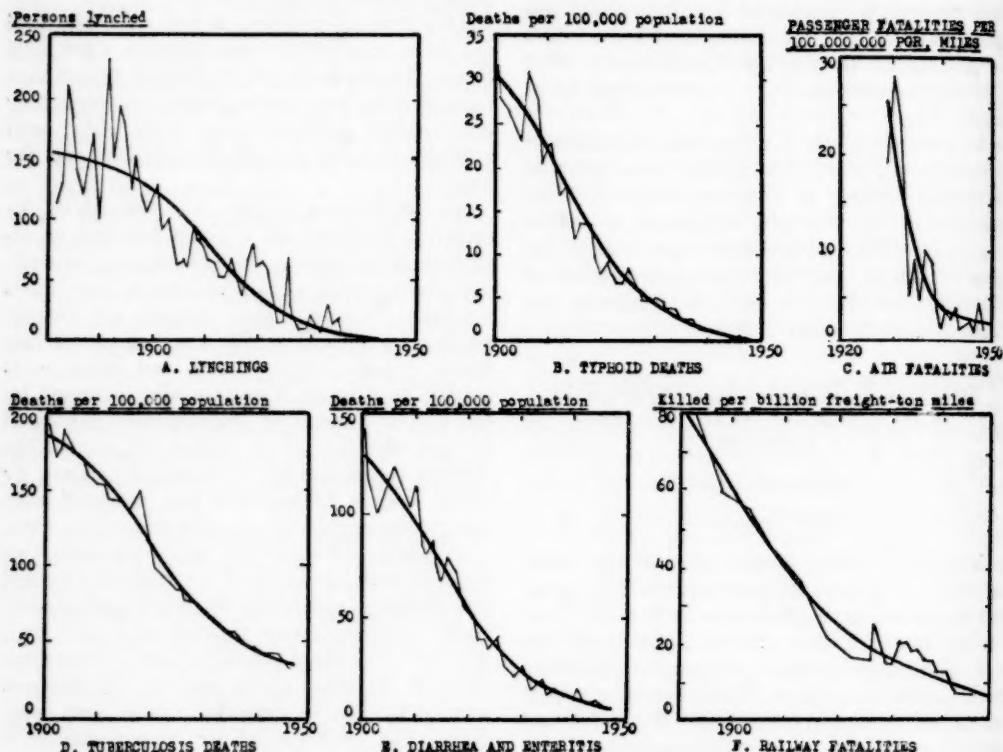


CHART 1. Six Social Conquests of Death-Problems

passengers. Reliable data go back only to 1891.<sup>3</sup> From that date forward the trend of the railway fatality rate has been clearly and steeply downward, approaching nearer and nearer to zero but declining more and more slowly. This increasing security against the hazards of railroading has been achieved by the invention of mechanical

to reduce those death rates to what would have been their levels if the invention or other death-causing change had not occurred.

<sup>3</sup> *Statistical Abstract of the U. S.*, 1946, pp. 508, 510, and 516, etc.

in crashes of regularly scheduled domestic carriers.<sup>4</sup> The date-scales on the two charts are the same. The trend of airplane fatalities, like that of railroad fatalities, has been steeply downward. Reduction of airplane fatalities has been far steeper than that for steam travel: the railroad death-rate required fifty years to be reduced to one-tenth of its 1890 level, whereas the airplane death-rate was cut to one-tenth of

<sup>4</sup> *Statistical Handbook of Civil Aviation*, U. S. Dept. of Commerce, 1945, p. 55; *Statistical Abstract*, 1949, p. 566.

its 1930 level in fifteen years. This comparison fits into the general principle that social change is taking place at faster and faster rates. In view of the critical need for accelerated reduction in the military death rate, this accelerating improvement offers hope.

#### TYPHOID DEATHS

Graph B in Chart 1 represents similarly the conquest of typhoid epidemics.<sup>5</sup> While typhoid fever is a medical problem, the development of epidemics was a by-product of technological progress. The growth of cities required the development of some sort of sewerage system. Medieval cities made use of open gutters for this purpose, with lamentable results. After enduring a long period of cultural lag relative to disposal of sewage, semi-modern sanitary engineers developed methods of dumping human feces into the rivers and lakes on which cities are frequently located. At the same time, however, they were developing works which drew the cities' supplies of drinking water from the same sources into which the sewage was being dumped. The adjustment of one technological lag had thus created another. The elimination of typhoid epidemics was achieved by a combination of medical research, applied chemistry, sanitary engineering, and (most significantly for our purpose) by the development of municipal and state legislation and administration to a point where typhoid bacilli could be systematically eliminated from not only the drinking water but also from other paths of access to humans.

#### INFANT DEATHS

Graph E in Chart 1 shows the conquest of diarrhea and enteritis.<sup>6</sup> In this case, again, while the problem presents itself as a medical one, the actual origin is closely related to the ancient invention of securing milk from cattle, to the more modern invention of the nursing bottle, and particularly to the development of slum conditions in the cities which grew up after the Industrial Revolution, in which outhouses and open sewers provided breeding places for flies, which systematically conveyed the bacteria from sick babies into the food of well babies. The overcoming of cultural lag in this example

involved an even greater achievement of social and political organization than in the conquest of typhoid. The carrying out of elaborate statistical studies to determine the causes of infant mortality, the carrying forward of campaigns to eliminate unscreened out-houses and other sources of contamination, the battle against the house-fly, the development of clinics in which mothers were instructed how to save their babies' lives—and above all, the pasteurization of milk and the inspection services to enforce the elimination of the sources of disease—such measures were responsible for cutting this death-rate to a level only one-twentieth as high as it was fifty years ago.

#### LYNCHINGS

Without stopping to discuss such triumphs as the conquest of tuberculosis, it is important to note some peculiarly significant facts about the decline of lynchings as shown in graph A of Chart 1.<sup>7</sup> The problem, again, is one of cultural lag, but in this case the instigating cause is to be found in the development of the African slave trade, with the resulting cultural clashes and status-tensions between Negroes and whites. (The lynchings of white persons, which contributed to the total, may be regarded as the product of similar status-tensions, arising out of ill-assimilated economic and ethnic developments.) The persistent decline of lynchings is especially significant for our present purpose in view of two facts. First, the essential remedy has been, not so much new legislation as the development of greater understanding, tolerance, and readiness to accept law and order. A second point of high significance is the fact that the lynching rate fluctuated more widely than any of the other indexes shown in Chart 1, and that the lynching problem is thus still further parallel to the problem of dealing with international warfare.

#### SOME LESS SUCCESSFUL STRUGGLES WITH CULTURAL LAG

The six social conquests of death problems which are graphed in Chart 1 do not prove that man can solve the atomic crisis. In the first place, these six examples constitute the most striking successes of this sort which the present author has been able to locate. Less encouraging outcomes of struggles with cultural lag may be

<sup>5</sup> *Statistical Abstract, 1949*, p. 73; *Vital Statistics Rates in the U. S. 1900-1940*, 16th Census, p. 210 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*

<sup>7</sup> Hornell Hart, "Logistic Social Trends," *American Journal of Sociology*, 50 (1945), 341, 343.

found elsewhere. For example, take motor-vehicle-accident deaths per hundred thousand cars registered.<sup>8</sup> The relative failure of safety measures in this field is shown by comparing percentage declines in travel death-rates. Between 1930 and 1948:

the air-travel death-rate dropped 88 per cent;  
the steam-railroad-travel death-rate dropped 61 per cent; and  
the automobile-travel fatality rate dropped only 25 per cent.

Even slower has been the reduction in deaths due to coal-mining.<sup>9</sup> During the period while air-travel deaths were cut 88 per cent, coal-mine deaths were reduced only 24 per cent.

Even these slow declines represent some progress toward overcoming cultural lag in the security of automobile passengers and of coal miners. But when we turn to the problem of security from war death and destruction, the trends are sweeping toward disaster instead of toward increased safety. For civilians, the best available data indicate the following rates of persons killed in bombings of cities in England and in Germany, in World Wars I and II:<sup>10</sup>

	Killed per 100,000 of population
World War I .....	2.4
World War II .....	287.5

These two rates clearly represent a sharply accelerating trend. Before World War I, deaths from bombing raids were 0. In World War II, civilians were killed at a rate 100 times as great as in World War I. Obviously two points and a base line do not provide enough data for the inductive derivation of a mathematical law. Yet it is also evident that the bombing death-rate of civilians results from the increasing ranges of bombing planes, the increasing tonnage of bombs which can be dropped in a raid, and the increasing killing power of the explosive used, all combined with absence of any effective international controls to prevent the use of these destructive resources in war. The resulting

<sup>8</sup> *Statistical Abstract*, 1946, p. 497; 1949, pp. 536, 765.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 1946, p. 769; 1949, p. 799.

<sup>10</sup> *United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Over-All Report* (September 30, 1945), p. 101; Edward M. Earle, "The Influence of Air Power upon History," *Yale Review*, Summer (June), 1946, p. 583; *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1929), Vol. 1, p. 461.

trend points toward an immensely increased death-rate of civilians in any nation subjected to bombing in any future world war.

From the standpoint of drawing a trend, the data on civilian bombing deaths are too meager for reliable conclusions, except as inferences are drawn from other technological trends. But when we turn to casualty rates of combatants, per thousand of population, some roughly reliable estimates are available as far back as 1100 A.D. The long-run trend, as shown by the best available estimates, is presented graphically in Chart 2.<sup>11</sup>

This chart falls into three periods. The first is from 1100 to 1700, during which the casualty rate increased along a generally accelerating trend. The second phase is from 1700 to 1914, during which the casualty rate sank back to the levels of the sixteenth century. The third phase is the upsurge of war casualties during the first half of the present century.

The century of peace just preceding World War I is often called "Pax Britannica." It was the period during which Protestantism, parliamentary government, and popular education were reaching high levels of development in all the leading countries of the Western world. During this and the two preceding centuries the British navy increased its tonnage in fairly close conformity to a logistic curve, which it followed from 1600 to 1885. This 285-year trend was interrupted by the British-German naval race which got under way about 1890.

This Pax Britannica period may be regarded as an experiment which failed. In the 17th century, the war casualty rate had risen to more than twice that of any previous century. Pax Britannica lowered it again to half its peak. If the Western democracies could have continued the developments which were evident from 1700 to 1890, the abolition of war casualties might have followed a trend strikingly similar to those shown in Chart 1. Instead of that, the age of aerial warfare and of mechanized militarism has reverted to the upsweeping accelerating trend which was apparent before 1700. World Wars I and II carried the battle death-rate up to nearly six times what it had ever been before.

<sup>11</sup> Chart 2 is based on a revision of Sorokin's data, presented in Volume III of his *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (and also summarized in Quincy Wright's *A Study of War*) supplemented by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company's estimate of casualties in World War II.

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## CONCLUSIONS

Evidence has been cited in this article to illustrate the fact that the systematic use of social intelligence has been effective in meeting several of the crises which have developed out of the technological progress of the Industrial Revolution. Deaths from airplane accidents, from railroad travel, from infected milk—and even from lynchings—have been progressively reduced to comparatively low or even vanishing levels. Our recent failure to achieve equal success with war casualties need not be regarded as conclusive. Past precedents strengthen rather than weaken the working hypothesis that social intelligence *can* be applied systematically to the over-towering crisis of the atomic age.

## NEGRO INTELLIGENCE AND SELECTIVE MIGRATION: A Philadelphia Test of the Klineberg Hypothesis

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University of Pennsylvania

Beginning about World War I and swelling to unprecedented proportions during and after World War II, the migration of southern Negroes to northern cities has effected a remarkably rapid redistribution of the Negro population of the United States. Are these migrants more intelligent than those who remained in the South? The Army intelligence tests of World War I showed a definite superiority of

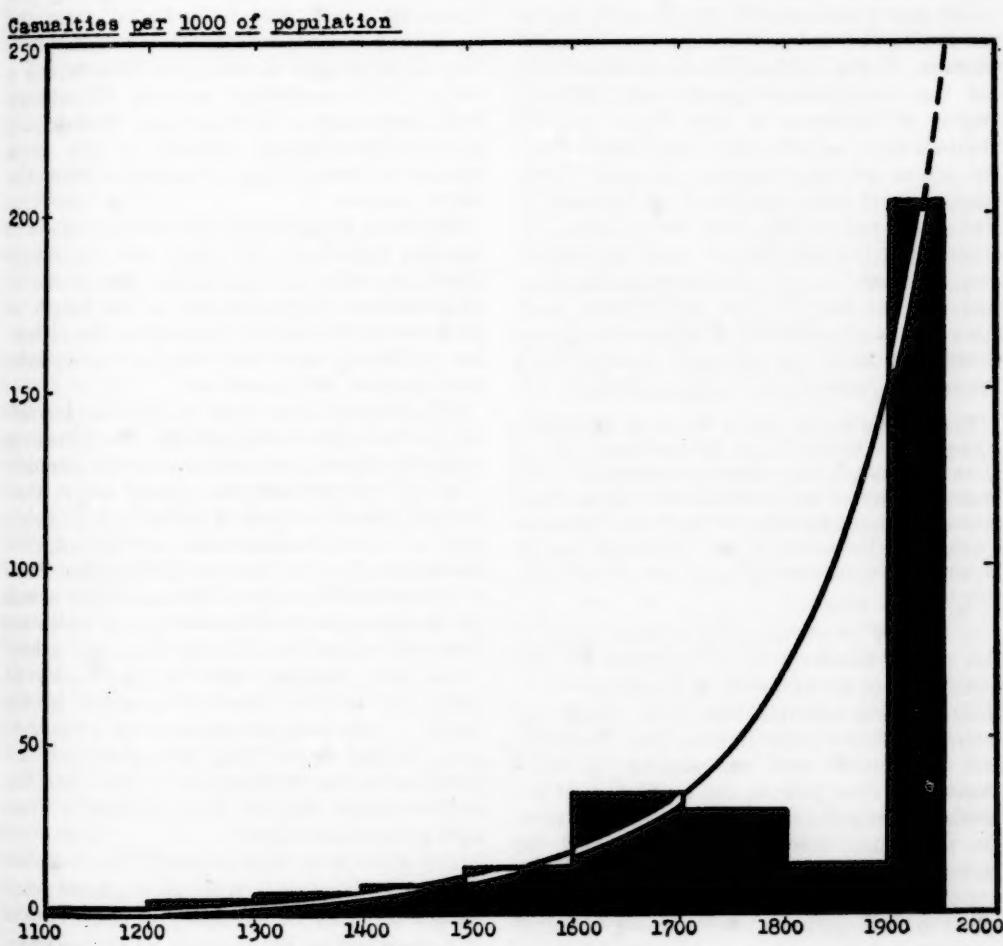


CHART 2. The Accelerating Increase of War Casualties, 1100 to 1950

the northern over the southern Negro. Was this because of selective migration or can the superior showing of the northern Negro be laid to a more stimulating environment?

The most extensive attempt to answer this question is found in Otto Klineberg's *Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration*.<sup>1</sup> There are two major parts of this work, the first of which is concerned with a direct comparison between the relative marks in the southern schools of Negro children who migrated to the North and those who remained in the South. The school records in Birmingham, Alabama; Nashville, Tennessee; and Charleston, South Carolina were examined and it was found that migrating children did not differ regularly or consistently from their non-migrating classmates in the matter of school marks.

The second method used by Klineberg was to give intelligence and performance tests to southern-born Negro children living in New York and then compare the groups with different lengths of residence in New York. On the Stanford-Binet and National Intelligence Tests the scores of the migrants increased fairly regularly with increasing length of residence in New York and tended, after several years, to approximate those of the New York-born. However, on the Otis Self-Administering Examination and on the different performance tests there was no clear pattern of improvement associated with length of residence in New York. From these results Klineberg concluded:

There seems to the writer to be no reasonable doubt as to the conclusion of this study. As far as the results go, they show quite definitely that the superiority of the northern over the southern Negroes, and the tendency of northern Negroes to approximate the scores of the Whites, are due to factors in the environment, and not to selective migration.<sup>2</sup>

A number of criticisms have been made of this study. Klineberg himself pointed out the inadequacy of school marks as a measure of intelligence and admitted that even though the migrant children from Birmingham, Nashville, and Charleston were not superior to their classmates, their parents, the originators of the northward migration, may very well have been. On the whole, more weight is accorded the second part of the study. Here, one of the major criticisms is that Klineberg's conclusions are based on comparisons made among different

groups rather than upon successive tests of the same individuals. Presumably, these groups differed only as to length of residence in New York but it is possible that they may have differed in native ability as well. It has been conjectured that the earlier migrants were superior to the later ones and that there has been less selectivity for intelligence as northward migration increased, a not illogical supposition. Nevertheless, Klineberg's study remains by far the best of its kind.

As is too often the case in the social sciences, there has been no independent repetition of this study, perhaps partly because of the time and expense involved in testing large numbers of children. Fortunately in the Philadelphia public schools there has been a long-continuing and intensive program of intelligence testing, the results of which may be gathered from the cumulative record maintained for each pupil. Thus it is possible to set up in Philadelphia a study which somewhat parallels Klineberg's New York study. Like New York, Philadelphia is of special interest because of the large volume of recent Negro migration from the South.

Following Klineberg, an attempt was made to test the hypothesis that there is a significant improvement in the intelligence test scores of southern-born Negro children as the length of residence in Philadelphia increases. The following conditions were held essential to an adequate test of the hypothesis.

(1) *A repetition of tests on the same individual.* It has been mentioned that the Klineberg study has been criticized because its comparisons are between different groups rather than between successive tests of the same individuals. One of the advantages of the Philadelphia testing program is that the Philadelphia Tests of Verbal and Mental Ability constitute a well correlated series, the different tests of which are given at various times during the pupil's school career and therefore offer an opportunity to determine whether there is a trend in the "IQ's" of the same individuals over a range as great as nine years. This, of course, does not preclude the use of intergroup comparisons, but adds evidence beyond that obtainable from such comparisons alone.

(2) *Tests of specific abilities.* It is conceivable that an increase in score on a general intelligence test may be indicative of improvement in a single ability. For example, an improvement in verbal ability would, in itself, raise the total score on a general intelligence test, even though

<sup>1</sup> New York: Columbia University Press, 1935.

<sup>2</sup> Klineberg, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

there was no improvement in other factors. The Chicago Tests of Primary Mental Abilities, used in the Philadelphia schools, break intelligence into six factors, allowing an opportunity to determine whether any improvement in general intelligence is associated with only one or two abilities. To this is added the Minnesota Paper Form Board Test, a test of spatial ability and one of the tests used by Klineberg.

(3) *A control group of non-migrants who do not differ from the southern-born in the matter of pre-school training.* Over a third of the Philadelphia-born children have had pre-school training and some psychologists maintain that this raises the "IQ" for at least the first few years thereafter.<sup>3</sup> It follows, therefore, that kindergarten training alone might serve to differentiate the non-migrants from the southern-born children, since very few of the latter have had pre-school training.

For practical reasons it was necessary to select a few schools for intensive study rather than attempt to sample the entire school population. On the basis of available information these schools were chosen from localities which presented widely diverse socio-economic characteristics. Two of the schools were in the heart of the city, one was near the city line, and the others were distributed widely in the intermediate area. One of the schools was a vocational school and another was chosen because a high percentage of its students were the children of foreign-born parents. Two of the schools drew children almost entirely from low rent districts; for the others, the pupils came from areas of higher rents with considerable variation from school to school. A major criterion in the selection of schools was the percentage of Negro students, which varied from a low of 23 to a high of 92. All of the schools were either junior or senior high schools and all of the students considered had attained at least the ninth grade. Nine schools were included in the investigation. The criteria for selection were, of course, arbitrary and no claim can be made that their populations are truly representative of those of the Philadelphia public schools in general.

Within the schools the records of each Negro student wh. had come to Philadelphia from a state south of the District of Columbia and east of the Mississippi River were included. As a control group a 20 per cent sample of the Philadelphia-born Negro students was selected

by taking the record of every fifth Philadelphia-born Negro whose name appeared in alphabetical listings of each class. The control group was designed to be a check against the possibility that an increase in the test scores of migrants on succeeding tests is only a general trend to be found among all students.

The Philadelphia-born students were divided into two groups, those who had attended kindergarten and those who had not. Migrants were divided into five classes, according to the grade in which they entered the Philadelphia school system, and roughly at two-year intervals. Time of entering the Philadelphia schools was taken as the best possible estimate of the time of arrival in Philadelphia even though, in some cases, several months may have elapsed between the time of migration and the time of entering school. Place of last residence before coming to Philadelphia was taken from the school transfer and time and place of birth from the school's record of the birth certificate.

#### FINDINGS

The mean scores and standard deviations of the Philadelphia Tests of Mental and Verbal Ability are shown in Table I. These tests form a series of group intelligence tests, somewhat similar to the Otis series, and are given to pupils in grades 1A, 2B, 4B, 6B and 9A. They have been standardized on Philadelphia school children, and equal scores on different tests represent equal distances, in terms of standard deviations, from the mean scores of the groups upon which the tests were standardized. The 1A test relies on oral instructions and includes such performance items as drawing the circle, square, triangle, and diamond, but beginning with the 2B test the series becomes increasingly verbal.

All of the individuals included in Table I took every test in the Philadelphia series given after they entered the school system. Because they had missed one or more of these tests, 292 of the 1,234 migrants whose records were examined were excluded from this table along with 326 of the 962 Philadelphia-born. Twelve migrants who had attended kindergarten were also excluded in order not to affect the comparison between the migrants and the Philadelphia-born who had not attended kindergarten. This is, of course, a loss of material, but it has the advantage of making the comparison of the scores of the same individuals on succeeding tests of this series possible.

From Table I, it is immediately apparent that there is a steady improvement in test rating

<sup>3</sup> See James L. Mursell, *Psychological Testing*, New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1949, p. 315 ff.

as each of the migrant groups increases its length of residence in Philadelphia. For each of the three groups of migrants entering before grade 5A there is a significant difference between the first rating obtained on the Philadelphia tests and the rating on the last, or 9B test. In other words, the improvement in mean test rating could have been due to chance less than five times in one hundred for each of these three groups of migrants.<sup>4</sup> For the groups entering in grades 5A—6B we have only two test scores and the difference is not statistically significant. The trend, however, is upward, there being a 2 point increase in mean score. Of far more importance than the tests of significance is the steady improvement of the test rating within each of the migrant groups.

Table I may be used to make intergroup comparisons as well. Reading upwards, instead of from left to right, a comparison can be made between groups with different lengths of attendance in the Philadelphia schools. With only one exception (the group of migrants entering in grades 5A—6B is slightly better than the group which entered in grades 3A—4B) there is a steady improvement in rating associated with early entrance in the Philadelphia school system. On each test where a comparison can be made there is a significant difference between the mean of the migrant group entering in grade 1A and the group which had last entered and was taking its first test of this series.

<sup>4</sup> In testing the significance of the difference between the mean scores of the same individuals of the two tests, account must be taken of the correlation involved. Therefore, the difference between the two scores for each individual was taken, resulting in a set of  $N$  individual differences. If there is no significant difference between the two sets of scores, the mean difference should not be significantly different from zero. The Student  $t$  distribution was used to test the significance of the deviation of the mean of the individual differences from zero. In making intergroup comparisons where the factor of correlation is not involved, i.e. when the two groups are composed of different individuals, the standard error of the difference between mean scores was calculated by the formula:

$$\sigma_{\bar{x}_1 - \bar{x}_2} = \sqrt{\frac{(N_1 + N_2)(\Sigma x_1^2 + \Sigma x_2^2)}{N_1 N_2 [(N_1 - 1) + (N_2 - 1)]}}$$

(See Croxton and Cowden: *Applied General Statistics*, p. 330.)

In each case, the  $t$  test was preceded by the  $F$  test for equality of variances, since equality of variances is a prerequisite for the  $t$  test.

A still further series of tests can be made. The hypothesis can be set up that there is no significant difference between the scores of the southern-born group entering the school system in grade 1A and the Philadelphia-born who did not attend kindergarten. For tests 1A, 2B, and 4B the hypothesis must be rejected, but on tests 6B and 9A the conclusion is that the groups are samples of the same population. In other words, the difference between the two groups, which was quite large in grade 1A, has narrowed until by grade 6B the difference is no longer significant.

The Chicago Tests of Primary Mental Abilities afford an opportunity to determine whether the improvement noted on the Philadelphia tests of general intelligence can be attributed to improvement in one or two specific abilities. These results are given in Table II, where again there is a striking association between the test score and the length of school attendance in Philadelphia. The one exception to the general pattern of improvement is the memory test, the scores of which seem to vary at random from group to group; indeed, the second highest mean score was registered by the group which had last come from the South. On all the other tests there is a significant difference between the means of the migrant group entering in grade 1A and the means of the migrant group entering in grades 7A to 9A. In three out of the six sub-tests, the migrant group entering in grade 1A surpasses the Philadelphia-born non-kindergarten group. Since there is an improvement in every category except that of memory, no single factor can be said to account for the over-all improvement in the intelligence test scores of the migrants.

In Table III are listed the scores on the Minnesota Paper Form Board Test. Contrary to the findings of the Klineberg study, where the results were not clear, there is a definite association between length of attendance in the Philadelphia schools and the scores on the test. The numbers of cases in this study are, however, considerably larger than those of the Klineberg study, which in some of his groups were as low as 23 or 25. This may explain the difference between these results and his.

There are still two major reservations that must be made before accepting the conclusions that there has been a general increase in the ability of the southern-born children to cope with intelligence tests. First, there is the factor of increasing familiarity with the tests and with the testing situation. These alone could account

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for a rise in the scores of the migrants. However, it would be expected, if this were an important factor, that there would be a similar rise in the scores of the two control groups of Philadelphia-born children. These persons, in general, would have even more familiarity with the tests and with the testing situation, but there is no upward trend in the scores of either of these groups.

Finally, it is conceivable that the persons who missed tests in the Philadelphia series were persons who had done badly on one test and thereafter stayed away from school on the day the tests were given. Or it may be that there is an inverse correlation between test scores and absences from school. Either of these factors, if true, could operate in a way to affect intergroup comparisons, but could not explain away the rise in test ratings of the same individuals over a period of time. To make certain of the effect

exercised by the exclusion of these records, however, the means and standard deviations of the Philadelphia series of tests were recomputed using both complete and incomplete records. Intergroup tests of significance were then made. While there were slight changes in the means, the general pattern was undisturbed and the difference between the means of different groups was judged significant or not significant, exactly as before.

#### CONCLUSION

Klineberg's hypothesis that there is an increase in the intelligence scores of southern Negro migrants to New York with increasing length of residence in New York is, in the main, substantiated by independent evidence in Philadelphia. There is a significant and continuous upward trend in the intelligence test ratings of

TABLE I. MEAN "IQ'S" ON PHILADELPHIA TESTS OF MENTAL AND VERBAL ABILITY

Group	N	1A	Grade in which test was taken:			
			2B	4B	6B	9A
Philadelphia-born who attended kindergarten.	212					
Mean		96.7	95.9	97.2	97.5	96.6
$\sigma$		14.3	14.8	15.0	13.9	14.2
Philadelphia-born who did not attend kindergarten.	424					
Mean		92.1	93.4	94.7	94.0	93.7
$\sigma$		13.8	14.4	14.6	14.1	15.1
Southern-born entering Philadelphia school system in grades:						
1A	182					
Mean		86.5	89.3	91.8	93.3	92.8
$\sigma$		13.2	13.3	14.1	14.5	13.6
IB—2B	109					
Mean		86.7	88.6	90.9	90.5	
$\sigma$		15.2	13.6	14.4	16.1	
3A—4B	199					
Mean			86.3	87.2	89.4	
$\sigma$			15.3	14.8	13.7	
5A—6B	221					
Mean				88.2	90.2	
$\sigma$				15.1	14.7	
7A—9A	219					
Mean					87.4	
$\sigma$					14.3	

TABLE II. MEAN SCORES ON CHICAGO TESTS OF PRIMARY MENTAL ABILITIES

Group	N	Sub-Tests:					
		Number	Verbal	Spatial	Word Fluency	Reasoning	Memory
Philadelphia-born who attended kindergarten.	105						
Mean		72.1	45.3	38.2	43.1	31.2	12.3
σ		23.8	20.1	24.6	15.1	13.2	3.8
Philadelphia-born who did not attend kindergarten.	193						
Mean		67.3	40.2	34.2	42.4	29.2	12.0
σ		21.7	19.6	25.4	14.6	13.7	3.9
Southern-born entering system in grades:							
1A	83						
Mean		68.2	34.9	35.3	41.9	27.4	12.4
σ		25.3	21.3	23.7	15.1	14.5	4.1
1B-2B	61						
Mean		64.3	35.6	32.4	40.3	27.9	12.3
σ		24.6	22.2	22.9	13.8	15.1	4.6
3A-4B	74						
Mean		61.6	32.9	28.5	40.8	26.3	12.6
σ		26.1	20.7	21.3	15.4	14.4	5.1
5A-6B	87						
Mean		62.1	30.7	29.7	39.3	25.4	11.9
σ		24.3	21.6	24.5	14.2	15.1	4.2
7A-9A	77						
Mean		59.1	28.8	30.8	34.1	23.2	12.5
σ		25.6	20.8	25.1	15.9	15.6	4.4

TABLE III. MEAN SCORES ON MINNESOTA PAPER FORM BOARD TEST

Group	Mean Score	Standard Deviation	N
Philadelphia-born who attended kindergarten	33.1	14.3	244
Philadelphia-born who did not attend kindergarten	30.3	13.5	468
Southern-born entering system in grade:			
1A	28.8	16.0	209
1B-2B	26.6	13.9	133
3A-4B	23.4	15.4	226
5A-6B	24.8	13.7	249
7A-9A	20.6	14.5	252

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southern-born Negro children as their length of residence in Philadelphia increases. This increase manifests itself not only on a general intelligence test but also on each of the subtests of the Chicago Tests of Primary Mental Abilities with the single exception of memory. The increase in general score cannot, therefore, be attributed to an increase in any one specific ability. Nor can the increase be laid to increasing familiarity with the tests or the testing situation, or to a general trend to be found among all students since there is no such increase in the scores of Philadelphia-born students. It can further be shown that the migrant children, who entered the first grade in Philadelphia are on the first three tests definitely inferior to the Philadelphia-born on the Philadelphia series of tests, but by the time they have reached the sixth grade there is no significant difference in their test ratings and those of the Philadelphia-born group, who, like them, had not attended kindergarten.

#### SOME FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS TO GUTTMAN'S THEORY OF SCALE ANALYSIS\*

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The Theory of Scale Analysis developed by Louis Guttman provides some new statistical principles and methods applicable to problems of quantification, scaling, or test construction involving attitudes, achievement, intelligence, personality, social status, and other types of attributes. Scale analysis has two distinct phases: First, a mathematical-statistical theory defining certain general conditions under which a defined set or universe of attributes can be reduced to a single score or dimension,

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† The author is indebted to Louis Guttman for providing access to unpublished materials and for personal direction in studying the theory and methods of scale analysis; to Z. W. Birnbaum and Douglas Chapman of the Mathematical Statistics Laboratory of the University of Washington for instruction and suggestions on the principles and methods of testing statistical hypotheses; and to students in classes on Scale Analysis at the University of Washington for stimulating and assisting in the development of contributions presented in this paper.

and developing a number of useful theorems about this type of universe of attributes (called a scalable universe) and the derived score; and second, some statistical-experimental principles and methods for deciding whether a particular empirically defined universe of attributes is to be accepted or rejected as a scalable universe for a particular empirically defined population of individuals.<sup>1</sup>

Guttman's Theory of Scale Analysis can be applied to two types of problems: (1) Scale analysis can provide the mathematical model for the construction of tests or scales to correspond to the assumptions of the model; (2) given a certain defined set of attributes, scale analysis can provide *one of a number of alternative "admissible" models* for the reduction of the set to a single variable or dimension.

In its application, scale analysis is subject to three types of errors or misuses: (1) The decision to apply or not to apply the theorems may be determined by *a priori* considerations rather than on the results of a valid statistical-experimental test. (2) The statistical-experimental test may be invalid in its design, particularly in the lack of a null hypothesis and of a "rule for rejection of the null hypothesis," clearly defined prior to an examination of the results of the particular sample used to test the hypothesis. (3) Assuming the design of the experiment is valid, the conditions and procedures of the experiment as carried out may deviate from the design sufficiently to affect the results.

The purpose of the present paper is to report on some further contributions to the Theory of Scale Analysis which it is hoped may increase the generality of its application, and decrease some of the indicated misuses. These developments are along three lines: First, a generalization of the Theory of Scale Analysis to include alternative methods for the reduction of a set of attributes to a single quantitatively defined variable or score which may be applicable under some conditions when those which have been defined by Guttman's Theory of Scale Analysis are not applicable; second, the development of a parallel Theory of Qualitative Analysis to include methods for the reduction

<sup>1</sup> At the present time the most complete presentation of Guttman's theory and methods is in Samuel Stouffer and others, *Measurement and Prediction*, Princeton University Press, 1950; and in C. W. Churchman (ed.), *Measurement of Consumer Interest*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1947, pp. 60-85.

of a set of attributes to a single qualitatively defined variable or "qualitative-types"; and third, the development of statistical-experimental tests to decide whether the theorems of scale analysis are to be accepted for application to a given empirically defined set of attributes.

### I. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

#### Some Alternative Methods for the Reduction of a Multivariate Set of Attributes to a Single Score

Given a set of many variables each with relatively few sub-classes, which may or may not be "ordered" in some manner, it is often a matter of convenience and economy in further statistical analysis to reduce or transform the set to a single variable or "dimension." If the sub-classes of the derived variable are defined to have some order corresponding to the mathematical concept of "ordinal" or "cardinal" numbers, the variable will be called a "quantitative variable" or "score." If the sub-classes of the derived variable are not "ordered" in this way, the variable will be called a "qualitative variable." For many practical purposes the requirement that the derived variable be "ordered" or quantitatively defined is not necessary in spite of the conventional acceptance of this requirement.

Two distinct types of methods of quantitative analysis will be discussed: (a) *Arbitrary methods*, in which the rules for reduction are simply a matter of definition of operations to be followed in deriving the single "score," and (b) *Experimental methods*, in which the rules for reduction involve certain hypotheses which can be experimentally tested as a basis for deciding whether theorems derived from these assumptions are to be applied.

In practice, it is apparent that most of the methods used to reduce a set of attributes to a single score, in sociology and social psychology, are essentially of the "arbitrary" type. The conventions for the construction of "objective" tests now familiar to most instructors provide a good illustration. The theory of operational definitions has been developed as a systematic rationale for this approach.<sup>2</sup>

*Experimental methods* have been developed that can be applied to test hypotheses involved

<sup>2</sup> See George Lundberg, *Social Research*, Longmans Green and Company, 1942, pp. 88-93 for a discussion of operational definitions in the construction of sociological tests or scales.

in three different types of mathematical-statistical models: (1) The hypothesis that the distribution of the derived scores of individuals in the population corresponds to a defined probability function, e.g., the "normal curve";<sup>3</sup> (2) the hypothesis that the method used to derive the single score is equivalent to a multiple-linear regression equation with the variables in the defined set as the independent variables and some outside "criterion" variable defined as the dependent variable, and with the constants determined by the least-squares solutions;<sup>4</sup> (3) The hypothesis that variables in the defined set have a certain type of multivariate frequency distribution for a certain population of individuals. Guttman has defined two somewhat different types of "models," one of which he has called a "scalable universe of attributes" and the other, a "quasi-scale."

The experimental methods involving the first two assumptions will not be discussed in detail in the present paper since they are simply application of general mathematical-statistical theories that are quite well known. However, in the field of "test construction," the hypotheses involved have in general practice not been subjected to statistical experimental tests.

Guttman's Theory of Scale Analysis involves a number of conditions that can be briefly defined as follows:

Let:  $i$  = the identification number of an individual in a defined population, taking values 1, 2, 3 . . .  $N$ .

$j$  = the identification number of a variable in a defined set or "universe of attributes," taking values 1, 2, 3 . . .  $M$ .

$x_{ij}$  = the rank order number of a sub-class of the  $j$ 'th variable including the  $i$ 'th individual, taking values 1, 2 . . .  $K_j$  where  $K_j$  is a small number, and the order of the sub-classes is defined for all variables.

$(X_{11}, X_{12}, X_{13}, \dots, X_{1M})$  = a combination of sub-classes of all of the  $M$  variables including the  $i$ 'th individual.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Guilford's *Psychometric Methods*, McGraw-Hill, 1936, pp. 77-93.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Horst (ed.) *The Prediction of Personal Adjustment*, Social Science Research Council Bulletin No. 48, especially pp. 271-286, and Horace William Mooney, *The Quantification of Social Attributes by the Use of the Discriminant Function and an Application for Predicting Response to Treatment in a Mental Hygiene Clinic*, M.A. Thesis, University of Washington, 1949.

$X_{jk}$  = a sub-class of the  $j$ 'th variable identified by  $k$ , an order number assigned to all sub-classes of all variables arranged according to the cumulative marginal frequency distributions for each variable.  $k$  is equal to 1 for that sub-class of any variable  $j$  with a value equal to 1 and with the smallest cumulative marginal frequency (accumulated up to the next highest sub-class of the same  $j$ ).  $k$  is equal to 2 for that sub-class of any  $j$

the same  $j$  that equals 2.  $X$  equals 3 for the combination that is identical to that for  $X$  equals 2, except that  $X_{j2}$  is replaced by the  $X_{jk}$  for the same  $j$  that is one rank higher than  $X_{j2}$ , etc.<sup>5</sup> (See Figure I)

$X_i$  = the score of the  $i$ 'th individual with respect to the defined scale types. The value of this score is equal to the value of the scale type in which the individual is included. An individual is included in

### Cumulative Frequencies

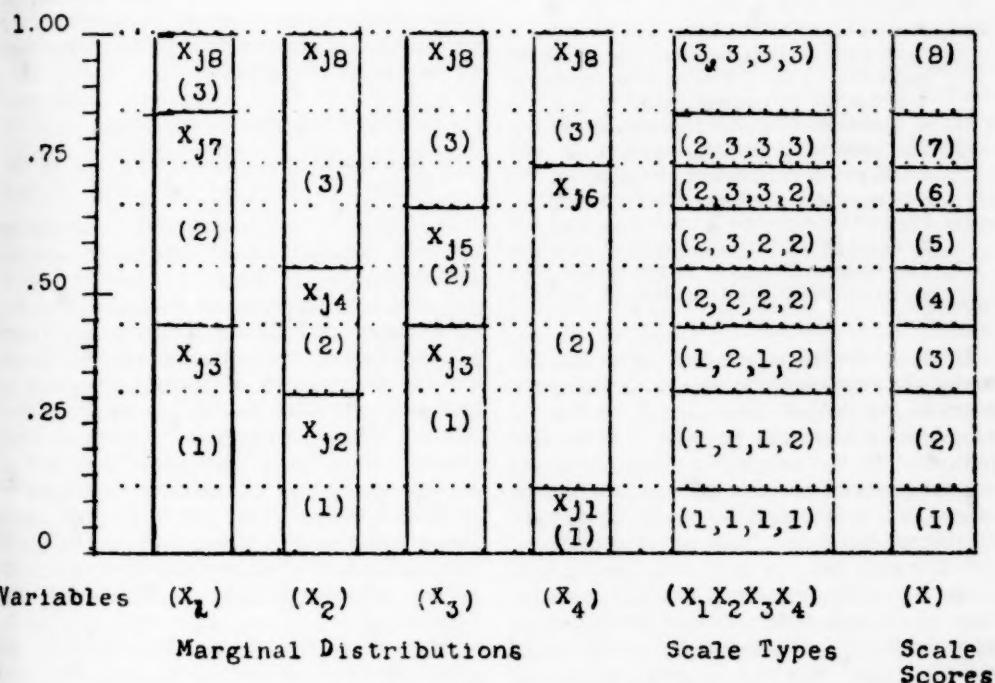


FIGURE I. An Example of the Reduction of Four Variables to Scale Types and Scale Scores

with the next smallest cumulative marginal frequency, and so forth, for all sub-classes. In case of sub-classes with equal cumulative marginal frequencies,  $k$  will have the same value for each sub-class. The range of values for  $k$  is 1, 2, . . . . Q. (See Figure I)

$X$  = a rank order number assigned to a particular combination of sub-classes defined as a "scale type," taking values 1, 2, . . . Q.  $X$  equals 1 for the combination of sub-classes in which all the  $X_{ij}$  equal 1.  $X$  equals 2 for the combination of sub-classes which is identical to that for  $X$  equals 1, except that  $X_{j2}$  is replaced by the  $X_{jk}$  for

a scale type under two conditions: (1) if the combination of sub-classes in which he is included is identical to the combination defining the scale type, and (2) if not identical, he is included in that scale type which differs least from the combination in which he is included. The amount of difference is measured by counting the number of sub-category values,  $X_{ij}$ , which would have to be changed for the  $i$ 'th individual in order

<sup>5</sup> This definition of  $X$  and  $X_{jk}$  is a generalization of the "bar chart method" that has been used by Guttman and others. Cf. Stouffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-70.

to make them identical with those of the scale-type in which he is to be included.<sup>6</sup>

$X^*_{ij}$  = the rank-order number of the sub-class of the  $i$ 'th individual on the  $j$ 'th variable "reproduced" from his score  $X_{ij}$ , given the scale-type corresponding to this score and assuming that he is included in all the sub-classes included in that scale-type.

$e_{ij}$  = an error in reproducing a given  $X_{ij}$ , taking the value 1 if  $X_{ij}$  does not equal  $X^*_{ij}$ , and 0 if  $X_{ij}$  equals  $X^*_{ij}$ .

$t$  = the identification number for a "trial," or a particular value of  $e_{ij}$  obtained within a certain interval of time, where  $t$  takes values 1, 2, 3 . . . .

Then: A defined set of attributes will be called a "uniformly scalable universe" for a defined population if the following four conditions are true for all possible trials.<sup>7</sup>

- (1)  $e_{ij}$  is a random variable for each  $i$  and each  $j$ .
- (2) The probability that  $e_{ij}$  equals 1 for any fixed  $i$  or  $j$  is independent of the probability that  $e_{ij}$  equals 1 for any other  $i$  or  $j$ .
- (3)  $P(e_{ij}=1)$  the probability that  $e_{ij}$  equals 1 is the same for all individuals and all variables.
- (4) The value of  $P(e_{ij}=1)$  is not greater than a predetermined small number  $B$ , e.g.  $B=0.10$ .

If these conditions are true, then the following theorems apply to *any sub-set* of attributes in the defined "universe of attributes": (1) A scale score can be derived from each individual in the population from which the sub-categories of the original variables can be reproduced within probability of error equal to that of the entire "universe of attributes." (2) The rank order of individuals on the scale score will with few exceptions be consistent with their rank order for any other sub-set of variables. (3) The zero-order correlation of the total score with *any external variable* will be as high as the multiple correlation of each of the variables in the sub-set with the same external variable. (4) The "test-retest reliability" of the total score and of each of the included variables will be close to 1.00. (5) A zero-point can be found by the method of intensity analysis which will be located at a point that does not vary with the particular sub-set of variables selected. (6) The fre-

<sup>6</sup> This definition of scoring corresponds to the method of "scoring by the nearest scale-type" as defined by Guttman. Cf. Stouffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-120.

<sup>7</sup> This definition corresponds to a special type of "scalable universe" discussed by Guttman in Stouffer, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

quencies of individuals having certain scores can be determined from the marginal frequencies of the variables included in the sub-set. Consequently, the form of the distribution of the scale scores can be controlled by the selection of variables and sub-classes with known marginal distributions, and thereby made to correspond closely to any specified probability distribution, e.g. to either the "normal" or the "uniform" distributions. (7) The number of different ranks on the scale scores is determined by the number of variables and sub-classes with different marginal cumulative distributions in the sub-set. Consequently, the number of ranks on the scale score can be controlled by increasing or decreasing the number of variables or sub-classes in the sub-set.<sup>8</sup>

## II. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

### The Reduction of a Multivariate Set of Attributes to a Single Qualitative Variable

Paralleling the methods of quantitative analysis, the methods of qualitative analysis include two general types: (a) *Arbitrary methods*, and (b) *Experimental methods*. Examples of arbitrary methods are the rules established by the United States Bureau of the Census for the classification of persons according to such characteristics as "Status in the Labor Force," "Major Occupations," "Place of Residence," "Race," and "Nationality"; as well as various systems of classification developed in medical and psychiatric practice, such as in the registration of "Causes of Death," and in the classification of psychiatric cases according to the general types of "Psychoses" and "Neuroses."

At present, the experimental methods for qualitative analysis are not as well developed as are those for quantitative analysis. Two basic contributions, however, have been made. (1) The "principle of modal probability" de-

<sup>8</sup> These theorems have been formulated to suggest possible applications and are not completely or exactly defined. For a more complete presentation, see Stouffer, *op. cit.*, especially for theorem (1) p. 287; (2) p. 296; (3) pp. 89, 179-180; 360-361; (4) pp. 302-311; (5) pp. 213-276, 312-327; (6) pp. 75-76; (7) p. 81. So far, however, except for theorems (1) and (4) these theorems have been derived and defined only under the assumption of an approximation to "perfect scalability." It is hoped that a more exact derivation and definition of these theorems under the assumption that the universe of attributes is "uniformly scalable," as defined above, will be completed and published.

veloped by Louis Guttman for the prediction of qualitatively defined variables.<sup>9</sup> (2) The theory of "latent structures" developed by Paul Lazarsfeld.<sup>10</sup> Another method of qualitative analysis developed by the writer as a modification of Guttman's Theory of Scale Analysis will be briefly presented in this paper, and will be called a Theory of Qualitative Types.

The hypotheses of the Theory of Qualitative Types are the same in form as those for a "uniformly scalable universe." However, no rank-order is defined for the sub-classes of the original variables or the derived variable. Qualitative types cannot be determined by inspection of the marginal frequencies. Instead, preliminary research or *a priori* theory is necessary in order to designate, as part of the hypothesis to be tested, a certain sub-set of all possible combinations of the sub-classes of the defined variables to be the qualitative types. To be useful for the reduction of the number of variables, the number of such combinations defined as qualitative types should be small. Every individual in the population is to be assigned to one of these qualitative types by the same method described above for assigning persons to scale types. The definition of the errors of reproducibility ( $e_{ij}$ ) also is the same as for scale analysis.

Accordingly, a defined set of variables will be defined to be "uniformly reducible to qualitative types" for a defined population of individuals, if the following conditions are true for all possible trials: (1) The error of reproduction ( $e_{ij}$ ) is a random variable for all  $i$  or  $j$ . (2)  $P(e_{ij}=1)$  the probability that  $e_{ij}$  equals 1 for any fixed  $i$  or  $j$  is independent of the probability that  $e_{ij}$  equals 1 for any other  $i$  or  $j$ . (3) The value of  $P(e_{ij}=1)$  is the same for all individuals or variables. (4) The value of  $P(e_{ij}=1)$  is not greater than some small number  $B$ , e.g.  $B$  equals 0.10.

Assuming these conditions are true for qualitative types, the following theorems apply to any sub-set of variables in the defined set and the defined population of individuals: (1) The variables in the sub-set can be reduced to qualitative types and reproduced with a probability of error equal to that for the entire universe of attributes. (2) If the qualitative types are used to predict some externally defined variable, the "coefficient of predictability" defined by Guttman's principle of modal probability for predicting a qualitative variable, or

the "correlation ratio" defined for predicting a quantitative variable, will be as high as if all possible combinations of sub-classes are used. (3) The "test-retest reliability" of the original and the derived variables will be close to 1.00. (4) The "test-retest reliability" of the qualitative types will be higher than that for any one of the variables included. (5) The number of qualitative types and the number of persons in these "types" can be controlled by the addition or subtraction of variables in the sub-set.<sup>11</sup>

### III. STATISTICAL-EXPERIMENTAL TESTS OF HYPOTHESES

Fisher, Neyman, and others have developed some general statistical principles and methods which can provide the methodological basis for the design of statistical-experimental tests of the hypotheses involved in the various methods of quantitative or qualitative analysis.<sup>12</sup> Briefly, such tests involve the following: (1) A random variable is defined by a probability distribution with specified characteristics except for certain "unknown" parameters. (2) A hypothesis to be tested, called the null-hypothesis, which fixes the value of certain of the unknown parameters, and certain alternative "admissible" hypotheses are defined. (3) A procedure is defined for selecting random samples of a certain number ( $n$ ) of individual elements from the defined probability distribution. (4) A statistical function is computed for a random sample, with a known probability distribution for an infinite number of random samples assuming the null-hypothesis to be true. (5) A rule is defined for the rejection of the null-hypothesis with a specified probability of being wrong in rejecting a "true" null-hypothesis (called the probability of error of Type I) and with the probability of error of being wrong in not rejecting a "false" null-hypothesis (called the probability of error of Type II) minimized

<sup>11</sup> A more precise definition and derivation of these theorems has not yet been completed for publication. Cf. Louis Guttman, in Horst, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-263, and 265-268 for definitions of the "coefficient of predictability" and the "correlation ratio." Also, cf. Louis Guttman, "The Test-Retest Reliability of Qualitative Data," *Psychometrika*, Vol. 11, pp. 81-95, for the definition of this concept.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. R. A. Fisher, *The Design of Experiments*, Oliver and Boyd; J. Neyman, *First Course in Probability and Statistics*, Holt; and Abraham Wald, *Sequential Analysis*, Wiley.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Horst (ed.) *op. cit.*, pp. 258-263.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Stouffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 362-473.

for some or all of the alternative hypotheses and certain other defined conditions.

In the present paper it will be possible only to suggest the use of these general principles and methods to design statistical-experimental tests of any hypotheses involved in methods of quantitative or qualitative analysis that are to be applied. In addition, with regard to the Theory of Scale Analysis, a number of statistical functions with known probability distributions which can be used to test the hypotheses involved will be briefly indicated. Two types of experimental designs will be considered: (1) A "single-hypothesis experiment" to test the null hypothesis that all four of the defined conditions of a "uniformly scalable universe" are true, with the single alternative that the first three conditions are true but the last condition is not true. (2) A "multiple-hypothesis experiment" to test four null-hypotheses, that each of the conditions is true in consecutive order, with the alternative hypotheses, that each additional condition is not true. It should be emphasized that any hypothesis to be tested by the results of a particular sample must be defined without knowledge of these results.<sup>13</sup>

A "Single-Hypothesis" Experiment. An experiment to test the null hypothesis that all four conditions are true, with the alternative that only the first three are true, can be designed, making use of the "binomial probability distribution." If these conditions are true, the universe of attributes and the population of individuals can be partitioned into sub-sets of  $m^*$  attributes and  $n^*$  individuals by any procedure not depending on inspection of the distribution of errors, and the sum of the errors within each sub-set of  $m^*$  attributes and  $n^*$  individuals ( $e_{m^*n^*}$ ) would have a bi-

<sup>13</sup> The "Scalogram Board Technique," cf. Stouffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-121, and the "Cornell Technique," cf. Churchman, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-85, depend upon inspection of the results of a particular sample to arrive at definitions of the rank order for the sub-classes of variables. Consequently hypotheses about the probability of error which assume that the rank order of sub-classes for each variable has been previously defined could not be tested by these techniques. Also these techniques do not depend on having previously defined the alternative admissible hypotheses concerning the probabilities of error as defined above, and consequently cannot provide exact tests of these hypotheses. However, the application of these techniques may be necessary as "pretests," in order that such hypotheses can be formulated and then tested by experiments using independently drawn samples.

nomial distribution for all possible sub-sets. A rule for the rejection of the null-hypothesis with a probability of error of Type I equal to say .05 could be set up by placing the binomial constant " $p=B$ , and the binomial exponent " $n=n^*m^*$ , and computing a limiting value " $k$ " for the sum of the errors in any sub-set ( $e_{m^*n^*}$ ), such that the probability that  $e_{m^*n^*}$  exceeds " $K$ " is equal to .05. For convenience, some approximation to the binomial distribution such as the "normalized-binomial" or the Poisson distributions can be used depending on the values of  $n^*$ ,  $m^*$ , and  $B$ .<sup>14</sup>

A "Multiple-Hypothesis" Experiment. In order to test the hypotheses that each one of the four conditions may or may not be true, we can proceed as follows:

First, the hypothesis that  $e_{ij}$  is a random variable for each  $i$  or  $j$  can be tested by methods for testing "randomness of runs" developed by Eisenhart and others.<sup>15</sup>

Second, if this hypothesis is not rejected, then the hypothesis that the probabilities of errors are independent for different individuals or variable can be tested by use of the Chi-squared test for independence.<sup>16</sup>

Third, if these two hypotheses are not rejected, then the hypothesis that  $P(e_{ij}=1)$  is the same for all  $i$ 's and  $j$ 's can be tested by dividing the sampled variables and individuals into sub-groups which according to alternative hypotheses are hypothesized to have different probabilities of error, and applying the Chi-squared function to the "marginal" sums of the errors for the individuals or for the variables.<sup>17</sup>

Fourth, if these three hypotheses have not been rejected, then the hypothesis that  $P(e_{ij}=1)$  is equal to or less than  $B$  can be tested by use of the binomial distribution or its approximation as indicated previously for the "Single Hypothesis Experiment." If these four hypotheses are not rejected by the application of these tests, then the defined universe of attribute will be accepted to be "uniformly scalable" for the defined population of individuals.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Stouffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-80, and Neyman, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-234.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. S. S. Wilks, *Elementary Statistical Analysis*, Princeton, 1949, pp. 222-228, and Eisenhart and Swed, "Tables for Testing Randomness of Groupings in a Sequence of Alternatives," *Annals of Mathematical Statistics*, 1943.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. R. A. Fisher, *Statistical Methods for Research Workers*, Oliver and Boyd, 1941, Ch. III.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. R. A. Fisher and F. Yates, *Statistical Tables*, Oliver and Boyd, 1938, pp. 18-19. Also, Fisher, *op. cit.*, Ch. II.

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The present paper will not attempt to formulate any one particular experimental design for testing the hypotheses of scale analysis. Instead it is recommended that a wide variety of designs be developed so that some experimental test can be carried out whenever the theorems of scale analysis are to be applied, all conforming, however, to the general principles for testing hypotheses formulated by Neyman and others. The choice of the particular design will depend upon the particular set of admissible hypotheses that are defined, and the physical conditions and limitations of time, personnel and resources under which the experiments are to be carried out. Since usually more than one experimental design and statistical testing procedure satisfies these conditions, then that design with the smallest "probability of errors of Type II" for the given "probability of errors of Type I" should be determined and selected.<sup>18</sup> In order to be able to determine the "Probability of errors of Type II," it would, in general, be necessary to select the sub-sets of individuals and of attributes by some method of "random" or "probability sampling."

Certain hypotheses can be defined as alternatives to the hypothesis that the universe is "uniformly scalable," which could be adopted as "admissible" hypotheses.<sup>19</sup> (a) The universe of attributes will be defined as "scalable with random errors" if the conditions (1), (2), and (4) are accepted, but (3) is rejected. (b) The universe of attributes will be defined as a "quasi-scale" if conditions (1) and (2) are accepted, but (3) and (4) are rejected, and if, in addition, for each variable in the universe the probability that an individual will be included in a "higher" ranking sub-class uniformly increases as the person's rank on the derived score increases. (c) The universe of attributes will be defined to be "approximately scalable" if condition (4) is not rejected, and if, in addition, the maximum probability of error for any individual or variable is not greater than  $B$ . (d) The universe of attributes will be defined to be "semi-scalable with random errors" if conditions (1), (2), and (3) are accepted but if (4) is rejected, and if, in addition, the hypothesis that all the variables in the set are completely independent

is rejected. If any one of these alternative hypotheses were accepted as a result of experimental tests, then at least some of the theorems of scale analysis would be applicable. If none of these hypotheses is accepted, then the other methods of qualitative or quantitative analysis such as previously indicated, can be considered. Similar experimental designs could be developed in order to test the various hypotheses involved. The development and use of methods which have been experimentally tested and not rejected could be expected to reduce gradually the errors of reproduction or prediction involved in the use of arbitrary methods of scaling or test construction.

### SOCIOLOGY'S POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO LEGISLATIVE POLICY DETERMINATION\*

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It has long been contended by social scientists, sociologists in particular, that a lag exists between law and the social facts of life. The nature of this lag, it is often alleged, derives from the extent to which lawmakers ignore social science research findings while arguing and drafting legislative policy. Although a newly enacted piece of legislation is a government-inspired experimental design, its efforts to bring about change often stem from untested hypotheses.<sup>1</sup>

Proposals regarding sociology's role in legislative policy determination are not new.<sup>2</sup> Lester

\* A portion of this paper was read at the meeting of the Midwest Sociological Society in April, 1950.

<sup>1</sup> See for discussions of this point from both sociological and legal viewpoints: Edwin H. Sutherland, "The Diffusion of Sexual Psychopath Laws," *American Journal of Sociology*, 56 (September 1950), 142; Paul Tappan, *The Habitual Sex Offender*, Report and Recommendations of the (New Jersey) Commission on the Habitual Sex Offender, 1950; Roscoe Pound, "A Ministry of Justice as a Means of Making Progress in Medicine Available to Courts and Legislatures," *University of Chicago Law Review*, 10 (April 1943), 323.

<sup>2</sup> See for past discussion of this problem: Roscoe Pound, "Mechanical Jurisprudence," *Columbia Law Review*, 8 (1908), 605; Max Radin, "Legal Realism," *Columbia Law Review*, 31 (1931), 824; Morris R. Cohen, *Law and the Social Order*, New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1933; Thurman W. Arnold, *The Folklore of Capitalism*, New Haven: Yale Uni-

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Neyman, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-268.

<sup>19</sup> These alternative hypotheses have been implicit in previous discussions of scale analysis, but they have not been explicitly defined or tested as different admissible hypotheses. Cf. Stouffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-288.

F. Ward<sup>3</sup> predicted in 1906 that eventually "legislation will consist in a series of exhaustive experiments on the part of true scientific sociologists and sociological inventors working on the problems of social physics from the practical point of view." Julius Cohen<sup>4</sup> recently called for a working arrangement between science and legislative law in a sound proposal for "illumination of the pathways of policymaking with the best light that human knowledge and experience can possibly provide."

It was the opinion of Ernst Freund<sup>5</sup> that "the foundation of experience and information underlying most statutory provisions is primarily political, social, economic, financial, technical or administrative and not legal." Needs inevitably attract new methods of doing things; "social legislation is social experimentation."<sup>6</sup> Thus legislative policy determination is one answer to the eternal truths of tradition and to the overpowering tendency of custom to gather within its far-flung sanctions every social problem—whether it fits or not.<sup>7</sup>

Two leading questions face the sociological researcher in the legislative arena. What is the nature of sociology's potential contributions to those who function in legislative policy determination? Is sociological research, so far as its past findings and experimental designs are concerned, prepared to make any genuine contributions to legislative policy determination? Sociology can become more socially useful and more scientifically meaningful if it can meet these challenges.

#### THE NATURE OF SOCIOLOGY'S POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS

It is in three major areas of activity relative to legislative policy determination that I believe

versity Press, 1937; and Ernst Freund, "Prolegomena To a Science of Legislation," *Illinois Law Review*, 13 (1918-1919), 122, 128.

<sup>3</sup> *Applied Sociology*, Boston: Ginn & Co., 1906, p. 338.

<sup>4</sup> "Toward Realism in Legisprudence," *Yale Law Journal*, 59 (April 1950), 886.

<sup>5</sup> "Legislation," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. IX, p. 347.

<sup>6</sup> F. Stuart Chapin, *Experimental Designs in Sociological Research*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, p. 14.

<sup>7</sup> An excellent discussion of this problem from a sociological point of view will be found in Robert M. MacIver and Charles H. Page, *Society: An Introductory Analysis*, New York: Rinehart & Co., 1949, pp. 176-178.

sociology is potentially capable of making worthwhile contributions.

1. Where the facts and resources permit, a policy issue can be freed from the area of disputation when demonstrable evidence is substituted for emotional argument. The issue might have to do with social cost, administrative difficulties, compliance, effectiveness and many other problems.

2. Sociology might make certain contributions to the nature of public opinion polls to insure their more serious consideration in the determination of policy.

3. Painstaking dissection of the social controls directing legislative power and personality would provide greater understanding of the motivations behind policy decision-making and of the impact of policy arguments (both rational and emotional) upon the legislator.

The law's ability to command only external or surface compliance requires, in a democratic society, that the circumstances of its passage give all possible assurance of its logical worth. Law sitting in judgment needs the assistance of scientific techniques which can help illuminate the pathways of understanding and compliance so often buried under an avalanche of argument and dissension.

With reference to the first point, it may be noted that any policy proposal is open to all varieties of argument. There are seldom adequate data or techniques employed to sustain the original arguments or to fortify challenging arguments with the strength of proof. While one assertion may be rhetorically downed by another, the challenger seldom demonstrates that what he has said is any more valid than what he would have his listeners reject.<sup>8</sup>

But on the logical plane of discourse, the contribution of social research findings could render an argument indisputable. Where sociological research does not establish the basis for generalization or prediction, it may at least assist in the construction of a counter hypothesis sufficiently plausible to nullify the impact of an opponent's unproven argument.

<sup>8</sup> Excellent examples of this point are found in the hearings before a senate subcommittee of the Committee On Foreign Relations, 81st Congress, 2nd session, pursuant to S. Res. 231 (the McCarthy accusations) and before the House Committee on Lobbying Activities, 81st Congress, 2nd session, pursuant to H. Res. 298. The majority of arguments offered for and against any proposed legislation, once examined and subjected to simple verification tests, will bear this point out.

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In the second area mentioned, contributions to the nature of public opinion polls might insure their more substantial role in the determination of legislative policy. A legislator should never abdicate the very desirable characteristics of inventiveness, introspection, and expertness in favor of a literal "will of the people."<sup>9</sup> I would agree, however, with Kriesberg's observation that a "valid role of survey research in the legislative process is to provide information accurately, quickly, and inexpensively, about the attitudes and characteristics of the American people."<sup>10</sup> It is essential for the student of policy determination to know the extent to which our citizenry's needs and wants are actually being fulfilled by those who never fail to proclaim their representative obligations to their constituents.

The public opinion poll becomes useful to the legislator only when he can identify the expressions contained therein with the alignments of influence determining his power standing. This suggests two basic propositions requiring far more research attention than has previously been given: (1) The legislator must be informed of far more characteristics (than are presently available) indicating the social psychological makeup of those individuals whose wills are being tabulated by the polling results. (2) The legislator needs the social scientist's help in understanding at what point in the trends of a time and thinking continuum his constituents are being polled.<sup>11</sup>

As to the third area, it is not only the nature of legislative policy but also the nature of the legislative process that deserves the interest of the sociologist. The legislative situation, like "any human situation, can be converted into a power relation."<sup>12</sup> For the legislator is harassed by those who pretend and

<sup>9</sup> See, in this connection, Robert S. Lynd, "Democracy in Reverse," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 4 (1940), 218.

<sup>10</sup> Martin Kriesberg, "Opinion Research and Public Policy," *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research*, vol. 3, p. 376.

<sup>11</sup> Politics often result in an ex-post-facto judgment of a legislator's vote. The legislator must publicly commit himself when voting, although his constituents may later change their minds. How the public opinion poll fails to meet this challenge is discussed in Robert C. Sorensen, "The Influence of Public Opinion Polls on the Legislator," *Sociology and Social Research*, 34 (May-June 1950), 323.

<sup>12</sup> Harold D. Lasswell, *Power and Personality*, New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1948, p. 16. The italics are Lasswell's.

those who possess, those who fight his re-election and those who fight his mind and spirit, those who want his job and those who want his reputation. In the final analysis, the legislator is dependent for his position upon the decisions he makes with reference to his expectations of rewards and punishments. We would do well to know more about their mechanics of operation. The make-up and impact of pressure groups, legislative cliques, techniques of intimidation and hero worship have been substantially overlooked by the sociologist. And if the impact of policy argument could be separated from the impact of other, often more subtle, devices of social control, a great step forward could be taken in verifying attitude reaction predictions by testing the legislator's performance.

#### IS SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH PREPARED TO CONTRIBUTE TO LEGISLATIVE POLICY DETERMINATION?

A careful evaluation of achievements in sociology causes us to ask: Exactly how might the sociologist justify an assertion of a lag between law and the science of society? Of what value would be the research methods and findings of sociology, when we assess them as a whole, were every legislator in the United States willing and able to take advantage of them?

Two basic questions regarding application and design provide the substance of this dilemma.<sup>13</sup> The first question has to do with the social usefulness of sociological research. The second question has to do with the scientific meaningfulness of sociological research. Neither question is new.

The intelligent policy-maker requires more than a dressed-up impression or inkling of what the impact of proposed legislation might be. The sociologist may traffic in assertions with the authority of a philosopher king and he may gather a multitude of facts to feed

<sup>13</sup> This discussion leans heavily on the following: conversations with colleagues; F. S. C. Northrop, "Underhill Moore's Legal Science: Its Nature and Significance," *Yale Law Journal*, vol. 59, p. 196; Claire Sellz and Stuart W. Cook, "Can Research in Social Science be both Socially Useful and Scientifically Meaningful?" *American Sociological Review*, 13 (August 1948), 454. Also see: Robert S. Lynd, *Knowledge for What?* Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1939; F. Stuart Chapin, *Experimental Design and Sociological Research*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947.

his statistical machines, but he fails the law-maker entirely if he is unable to utilize experimental techniques and past research findings which are socially useful and scientifically meaningful.<sup>14</sup>

The legislator requires an explicit inventory of the social data which constitutes the substance of a given policy issue. Techniques of sociological research must be used which can be applied with similar results were the legislator to select someone in whom he had greater trust to carry out the same research. These techniques must be clean cut, articulate and applicable in more than the single situation.

The bulk of sociological research of today has very little to offer the policy maker because principles of human behavior do not emerge from preoccupation with individual situations, nor do generalizations drawn from artificial and controlled laboratory experiments have much bearing upon policy problems. The unfortunate characteristic of most sociological research today is that few efforts are made to go beyond the single study. If the methods employed in a given piece of research are designed only to satisfy demands of the immediate and unique situation, if they are abandoned and allowed to decay without application elsewhere, they can be of little *scientific* value to the legislator.

Many very suggestive sociological research techniques have originated, but lack adequate usage, in connection with parole prediction,<sup>15</sup> assessment of the personality of criminals,<sup>16</sup> prediction of employability,<sup>17</sup> measurement of health needs and medical care,<sup>18</sup> and determination of what occurs when social welfare

and psychiatric agencies are not available for potential juvenile delinquents.<sup>19</sup> One fault lies in the fact that the experimental design of many research projects is not sufficiently well planned that confirmation of the hypotheses can be tested within the bounds of the experiment.<sup>20</sup> These research techniques would have great potentialities for legislative policymaking had they been undertaken in numerous situations and over periods of time. But it is foolhardy to assume, for example, that methods utilized in a single study of what has happened under the New York State anti-discrimination law can be used to predict what might result from the passage of such a law in the state of Nebraska.

Sociological research possesses little scientific meaningfulness to legislative policy determination unless it is adapted to the implications of social change. The policy maker's primary concern is with what will happen if he makes a particular decision. It is not enough for the sociologist merely to diagnose and expose what has already occurred, although that is what we are reduced to doing at the moment. The impact of legislation must be considered by the sociologist, particularly in terms of its potentialities for comparison with what happens *before* the law is passed and comparison with what is happening in a like community or situation to which the law does not apply. Research utilizing pilot studies, experimental and control

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936.

<sup>15</sup> Lloyd E. Ohlin and Otis Dudley Duncan, "The Efficiency of Prediction in Criminology," *American Journal of Sociology*, 54 (March 1949), 441.

<sup>16</sup> Karl F. Schuessler and Donald R. Cressey, "Personality Characteristics of Criminals," *American Journal of Sociology*, 55 (March 1950), 476.

<sup>17</sup> Bernard S. Newer, "An Employment Expectancy Rating Scale," *American Sociological Review*, 9 (December 1944), 640.

<sup>18</sup> Charles R. Hoffer and Edgar A. Schuler, "Measurement of Health Needs and Health Care," *American Sociological Review*, 13 (December 1948), 719.

<sup>19</sup> An excellent discussion of this very problem, though not as it affects legislation, is contained in one of the few truly critical reviews of *The American Soldier* (Vols. 1 and 2) by Nathan Glazer, *Commentary*, Fall 1949.

<sup>20</sup> Crucial examples are seen in the experiments of administering crisis situational tests to men recruited by the Office of Strategic Services described by staff members in *Assessment of Men*, New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1948. The reader searches without success for evidence of the proof or disproof in action that these tests were really measuring the behavior qualities it was assumed they were. The long and expensive studies in communications to American soldiers, it is admitted by the researchers, never go quite far enough to determine whether or not morale really was improved and the desire to fight really was strengthened (Carl I. Hovland et al., *Experiments on Mass Communication*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949). Unfortunately the research resolved itself into whether or not a given set of communications caused an individual to say his morale was better rather than to discover whether or not the practice of one's morale was of greater or lesser intensity.

group research, and before-and-after studies is sorely needed. The following are suggested prerequisites for sociological experiments where legislative policy determination is concerned:

1. The sociologist must be proof-positive that he can fully observe and measure the phenomena that comprise the basic ingredients of his research problem.

2. The sociologist must have constructed a measuring device and metric for the characteristic he would measure. It is not enough to superimpose arbitrarily a basis of measurement, derived from another piece of research or experimental laboratory, upon an altogether different sort of phenomenon.

3. The ability to predict legislative-policy impact with some degree of probability must emerge as the primary justification of any research design. If sociology is incapable of making predictions regarding the effect of any proposed policy, it is certainly unable to justify the utility of merely describing a present situation which, because of the unforeseen consequences of a proposed alternative, it could be argued, might just as well remain as it is.

#### CONCLUSION

The sociologist should feel no pangs so far as sociology's inadequacies have been concerned. For its very fact-finding potentialities are what show up some sorry defects of legislative procedure where policy making is concerned. An exhaustive study by this writer of legal bibliographies and legislative records on many subjects to which sociological research has made at least some contributions, unearthed an overwhelming amount of pity, sympathy, false morality, scapegoatism, and cries of "conscienceless society" and "irresponsibility," with efforts being concentrated almost solely on the disease rather than its cure. Legislators, lawyers, and judges have been just as glib in their generalizations, just as blind in their failure to undertake repeated confirmation of their findings, and just as unconcerned about measuring what they claim to measure as we sociologists have been.

Given thoughtful experimentation and rigorous adherence to the standards necessary for any genuine contribution to legislative policy determination, sociology will be provided with the occasion to become far more scientifically meaningful and socially useful.

#### A SPATIAL INDEX FOR FAMILY INTERACTION

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"This is an awfully small space to house so much incompatibility," writes an unhappy wife to her marriage counselor. She lives with her husband and seven-year old son in a two-room apartment.

"To insure a happy marriage," comments the seventy-eight-year old father of twelve children, "a family needs to live on a place large enough so that its members can get out of earshot of each other."

These two comments will serve to pose the problem of the spatial setting for family living, and the relationship between this spatial setting and the number of persons in the group. To facilitate research in this direction, this article presents the concept of a spatial index for family interaction.

#### BASES OF THE CONCEPT

This index is based upon, and is an extension of, the author's Law of Family Interaction, which has been stated as follows: "With the addition of each person to a family or primary group, the number of persons increases in the simplest arithmetical progression in whole numbers, while the number of personal interrelationships within the group increases in the order of triangular numbers."<sup>1</sup> The mathematical formula involved was set forth as follows:

$x = \text{the number of personal interrelationships}$

$y = \text{the number of persons.}$

$$x = \frac{y^2 - y}{2}$$

The concept of the interactive space index adds to this law the data on the physical area

\* For suggestions incorporated into this article, acknowledgment is made to Mrs. Winogene P. Sanger, Research Associate of the William T. Carter Foundation, and to Mr. Robert O. Blood, Jr., of the University of North Carolina.

<sup>1</sup> James H. S. Bossard, "The Law of Family Interaction," *American Journal of Sociology*, 50 (January, 1945), 293. See also the author's *The Sociology of Child Development*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948, p. 146.

of the home (i.e., floor space) within which the family functions, expressed in terms of square feet. For the determination of the index, three groups of facts are necessary: (1) the number of persons within the household or family group, (2) the resultant number of interrelationships, and (3) the number of square feet of floor space in the living quarters. The index is obtained by dividing the second number into the third of these variables.

For example, the Brown family consists of six members. Applying the formula of the Law of Family Interaction, it is found that there are  $\frac{36-6}{2}$  or 15 sets of personal interrelationships.

Measurement of the living quarters of the Brown family reveals a total of 1,380 square feet. With 15 sets of personal interrelationships, our interaction space index then is 92, or an average of 92 square feet for each personal interrelationship within the family group. The Black family, on the other hand, with four members and six sets of personal interrelationships, living in an apartment of the same size, has an interaction space index of 230. The Jones family, with three members and three sets of personal interrelationships, shows an index of 460 in a domicile of equal space.

This index is a quantitative expression of the spatial setting of intragroup relations. It is, in other words, an index of the pressure of the physical nearness of persons who are interacting, or, better still, a quantitative indication of the degree to which the home space may be presumed to place pressure upon the family members in their relations with each other. It is presented as an advance over the commonly used ratio of the number of persons per room in a household. The sociologist's primary concern, and especially that of the student of family living, is not so much with the number of persons per room, as with the number and complexity of interrelationships within a given space. The two differ, and increasingly so, with the addition of each person to the group.

There are, of course, other than interpersonal relationships within a group, and these might be considered too in this connection. Both William Kephart and the author have worked on the total number of potential relationships within a group, and, as Mr. Kephart has pointed out,<sup>2</sup> these "are never infinite in

number, the quantity always being mathematically determinable." The total possible number of relationships that can exist in a given group at a given time is represented by the formula  $\frac{3^n-2^n+1}{2}$ . Concretely, this means that in a family of four there are 25 potential relationships; with five members, a total of 90.

#### ASSUMPTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The fundamental implication of this index is forecast in Emile Durkheim's *De la division du travail social* (1893), where he points out that increase in the number of contacts multiplies the occasions when people find themselves interrelated, when problems arise necessitating adjustment, and when life has to be lived in conformity with rules and regulations.<sup>3</sup> This implies rather clearly the basic importance of the spatial setting of social interaction.

More specifically, the thesis advanced here is that the spatial dimensions of living quarters are related to the stresses, strains and frustrations of family living. This does not imply that family members are necessarily aware of this factor, although material on family quarreling, gathered under the auspices of the William T. Carter Foundation, reveals a considerable number of references to "nothing but four walls to look at," and other expressions implying the cramped quarters in which the family lives. It is as a background factor that the spatial index, with its quantitative expression, becomes a measurable tool for research in the problems of family living. It is particularly germane in a situational approach to the study of family behavior.<sup>4</sup>

#### ALLOWANCE FOR VARIABLES

Any use of the family interaction space index as a research tool must recognize at least five variables in regard to the families studied. These are the sex, age, marital status and occupation of the family members, and the stage of development of the family cycle.

The role of the sex composition of the family is obvious, and grows out of the cultural differences in the behavior and status of the sexes, even within the intimate area of family life.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. George Simpson, *Emile Durkheim on the Division of Labor in Society*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1933, Book II.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *The Sociology of Child Development*, Chap. II.

<sup>2</sup> William M. Kephart, "A Quantitative Analysis of Intragroup Relationships," *American Journal of Sociology*, 55 (May, 1950), 546.

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There are aspects of daily living which for many people call for privacy, complete or partial, from the opposite sex. Being cultural, these vary from one cultural and sub-cultural area to another. Perhaps the spatial index might be divided in two, especially when two sexes, unmarried to each other, live in the same household.

The age factor is more difficult to compute, and is connected specifically to the family cycle, as well as to the sex differential. Differences in age coincide with different stages of life development, which means differences in needs, interests and activities.

The significance of marital status, too, is obvious. The married pair have spatial needs that differ from those of unmarried adults living in the same households, and the spatial interests of newly married couples change with the coming of children. Occupation is important chiefly because of its bearing upon the time spent within or away from the home, as well as the times of leaving, returning and sleeping. Perhaps most important of all the variables is the stage of the family cycle. This not only is interwoven with the other variables, but is significant because it determines the composite personnel, activities and time schedules of the members of the family group.

Ultimately, it may be possible to determine the role of these variables with some degree of precision. In the meantime, as a first step in research, their importance can be minimized by utilizing the index with families similar in respect to these variables, but differing in their spatial setting. Such families could then be studied with a view of determining the role of differences in the spatial index.

#### SUGGESTIONS FOR RESEARCH BASED ON THE INDEX

The concept of the spatial index for family interaction suggests various lines of specific research. One of these would be an inquiry into the forms of adjustment which families make who live successfully in cramped quarters. The study of family rituals, and the differences in these rituals which obtain on a class basis, are particularly revealing. One such study of class differentials in family rituals of 156 Philadelphia families has been made and published.<sup>5</sup> The homes represented in the lower class range from two-room apartments to a six-room house,

<sup>5</sup> James H. S. Bossard and Eleanor S. Boll, *Ritual in Family Living*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950, Chap. 6.

and the families vary in size from four to thirteen members. The ritualistic adjustments are found to include methods of arising, bathroom procedures, the eating of meals, work and recreation. "The rituals arising from these situations are, for the most part, rituals of expediency, to keep the home going, and to facilitate escape from home into a more exciting or promising outside world."<sup>6</sup>

The study of rituals, just referred to, suggests that other class differentials in family living are the outgrowth in some measure at least of variations in the family interaction spatial index.

Complementary to such studies would be those which explored the relationship of the index to the conflicts, complaints, irritations and recriminations that occur within families. To what extent are these related to frustrations in family interaction, as affected by the multiplication of physical contacts and of failure to work out living habits expedient to them? It would seem that an index based on the ratio of personal relationships to spatial dimensions is far more significant than the number of persons per room.

Again, it is pertinent to inquire not merely if the number and intensity of family tensions vary with changes in the interactive spatial index, but also if, and what kind of changes in the nature and kinds of tensions occur with changes in the index. Are there characteristic problems at varying levels of the index? All of this suggests that the spatial index may have considerable significance in the field of marriage counselling.

The reference to levels of the spatial index suggests that ultimately spatial norms might be established for the interactive needs of the family. This has been done on a health basis, in terms of the number of persons per room, so that a similar quest for scientific standards in the field of family interaction would seem to be equally feasible, and significant.

Many other questions suggest themselves. What is the relationship between the proposed index and the courtship patterns of younger members of the family? What forms of adjustment are necessitated here, and how do they vary with spatial considerations? To what extent are class differentials in courtship patterns and in pre-marital sex experience related to differences in the interactive index? How is the index related to the increase of leisure time of

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 133.

members of working-class families? To the increasing demand in many families for special purpose rooms? To the reputed transference of family functions from the home to the community? To the use of passive commercialized entertainment? To the home work and school progress of adolescents in the home?<sup>7</sup>

The suggestions for research just made might be thought of as so many hypotheses to be tested through inductive processes. The spatial index for family interaction is offered as an objective and quantitative device to facilitate such research.

TREND IN AGE AT MARRIAGE OF  
WISCONSIN MEN AND WOMEN,  
1909-1940

JAMES D. TARVER  
*University of Arkansas*

Studies of the trends in age at marriage based on official data have been limited.<sup>1</sup> Age at marriage has been found to be associated with the business cycle, the age at which education is completed, and many other factors.<sup>2</sup> This paper is based on research which was prompted by a desire to test the following three statements regarding trend in age at marriage:

(1) "Moreover, the average age at entrance into marriage, contrary to popular impression, is falling."<sup>3</sup>

(2) "With the growth of industrialism and the increasing standards of higher education dur-

<sup>7</sup> For a summary of complaints of families about living quarters, see Svend Reimer, "Mal-adjustments to the Family Home," *American Sociological Review*, 10 (October, 1945), 642-648.

<sup>1</sup> Three of the most important published research materials on this subject are the following: Melvin S. Brooks, *Wisconsin Birth and Marriage Rate Trends by Occupations, 1920-1936*, unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1941; Antonio Ciocco, "The Trend of the Age of Marriage in Washington County, Maryland, from 1897 to 1938," *Human Biology*, 12, (February, 1940), 59-76; U. S. Bureau of the Census, "Age at First Marriage," *Population—Special Reports*, Series P-45, Number 7, May 28, 1945.

<sup>2</sup> Paul C. Glick, and Emanuel Landau, "Age as a Factor in Marriage," *American Sociological Review*, 15, (August, 1950), 517-529.

<sup>3</sup> J. P. Lichtenberger, *Divorce a Social Interpretation*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1931, p. 424.

ing the last century, the age of marriage has been forced upward."<sup>4</sup>

(3) "Coincident with the steady decline in the average age at marriage in the United States during the past 40 years (a trend almost halted only within the last few years), there has been a rising rate of marriage failure."<sup>5</sup>

The three statements can be tentatively tested from an analysis of complete data for one state over a relatively long temporal period. The major contribution of this article lies in its utilization of marriage data over a period of 32 years for the state of Wisconsin.

TREND IN AGE AT MARRIAGE, 1909-1940

During the thirty-two year period 1909 to 1940, the trend in median age of Wisconsin brides and grooms was toward a younger age at marriage (Table 1). Figure 1 depicts this trend in a graphic manner. Official data on age at marriage of Wisconsin men and women are available only for these 32 years. These data include all marriages (first marriages and re-marriages).

The median age of Wisconsin grooms was 26.5 years in 1909. The age at marriage of men dropped steadily to 26 years in 1914, rose in 1915 and 1916, then declined again in 1917 to 26 years of age. The age of grooms increased irregularly to the highest peak for the thirty-two year period in 1921 (26.9 years). From 1921 the age at marriage decreased gradually through 1929, rose slightly in 1930 and 1931, then dropped to 25.9 years in 1932. In 1933 the age of grooms began rising but in 1939 a decline occurred, with the lowest median age recorded for the period being 25.8 years of age. A trend line was computed by the least squares method showing the trend in age at marriage for the entire period. The straight line trend for age of grooms in 1940 was more than four-tenths of a year lower than in 1909.

The variations in the age at marriage of women followed about the same pattern as that of Wisconsin men, except that the trend is not so pronounced. The median age of brides was 23.0 years in 1909 and it remained on the same level through 1913. In 1914 the women married 0.2 of a year younger than during the previous

<sup>4</sup> Lewis M. Terman, *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938, p. 180.

<sup>5</sup> Ray E. Baber, *Marriage and the Family*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939, p. 176.

five years. The median age of brides was 22.9 years in 1915, rose gradually to 23.3 in 1920 and remained the same in 1921. Wisconsin women postponed marriage longer in 1920 and 1921 than they did in any other year in this period. From 1922 the median age of brides began a steady decline and reached its lowest level in 1932, at 22.6 years. The women's age at the altar increased in 1933 and 1934, but remained about the same through 1940. The trend in age at marriage of Wisconsin women was toward earlier marriage but not as marked as that of the grooms. The straight line trend for age of brides in 1940 was less than .05 of a year lower than in 1909.

TABLE 1. MEDIAN AGE AT MARRIAGE BY BRIDE AND GROOM, FOR WISCONSIN, 1909-1940

Year	Brides	Grooms
1909	23.0	26.5
1910	23.0	26.5
1911	23.0	26.4
1912	23.0	26.4
1913	23.0	26.3
1914	22.8	26.0
1915	22.9	26.1
1916	22.9	26.2
1917	23.0	26.0
1918	23.1	26.7
1919	23.2	26.6
1920	23.3	26.5
1921	23.3	26.9
1922	23.2	26.7
1923	23.1	26.6
1924	23.0	26.5
1925	22.9	26.3
1926	22.9	26.4
1927	22.8	26.1
1928	22.9	26.0
1929	22.8	26.0
1930	22.8	26.1
1931	22.8	26.2
1932	22.6	25.9
1933	22.7	26.0
1934	22.9	26.2
1935	23.1	26.4
1936	23.2	26.4
1937	23.1	26.3
1938	23.0	26.2
1939	23.1	25.8
1940	23.1	26.1

Source: Reports of the State Board of Health of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, 1909-1940.

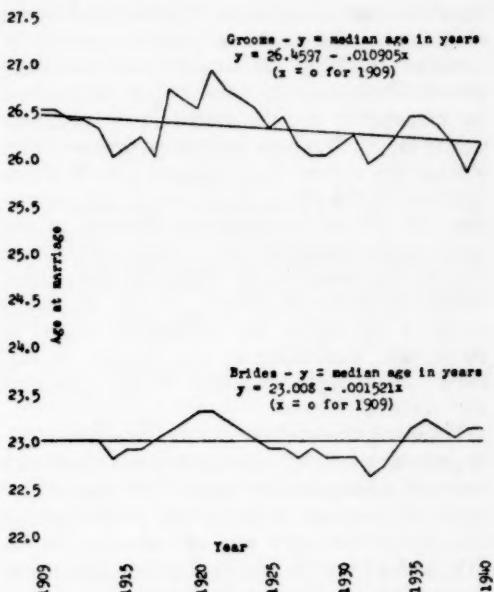


FIGURE 1. MEDIAN AGE AT MARRIAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN IN WISCONSIN, FROM 1909-1940.

#### A NOTE ON STIMULATING RESPONSE TO QUESTIONNAIRES

ABBOTT L. FERRISS

*Vanderbilt University*

The effectiveness of three techniques for stimulating response to mailed questionnaires was tested by the returns of a survey of the introductory sociology course in the eleven Southeastern States. The use of a "deadline" was quite effective in stimulating an immediate heavy response. By providing stamped addressed envelopes in the first and second waves of questionnaires, the flow of returns was increased. Postal cards as reminders were completely ineffective in increasing the flow. Costs per return were slightly higher (by 0.9 cents) for the segment of the population which was not provided with stamped, return envelopes and which was not prodded. Responses were most frequently mailed on Thursday and Friday; least frequently mailed on Saturday and Sunday.

The four-page questionnaire which was used, requiring approximately one hour to complete, requested information on the objectives, teach-

ing techniques, curriculum positions, techniques of evaluating the students' progress, and problems of teaching the introductory sociology course. The population consisted of the instructor responsible for the introductory sociology course in 241 four-year colleges and universities within the eleven Southeastern States. Upon the basis of the educational level of the population and of their professional interest in the topic under investigation, a high percentage return was anticipated.<sup>1</sup> Questionnaires were mailed to the entire population, but no return envelope nor stamp was included in letters to 89 schools, considered as the non-sample segment. The sample consisted of the remaining 141 schools.<sup>2</sup>

Following the original wave of questionnaires, a second wave of questionnaires, also with stamped, addressed return envelopes, was mailed to non-respondents in the sample on the twenty-first day of the study, and a third wave, on the fifty-fifth day of the study. The last return was received on the seventy-fourth day.

Questionnaires were returned from 127 of the 141 schools in the sample, a 90.1 per cent response. However, only 23, or 25.8 per cent, of the 89 schools comprising the non-sample segment of the population were returned. The percentage difference, 64.3 per cent, is significant at the .001 level. The effectiveness of including a stamped, addressed envelope and of prodding, therefore, cannot be minimized.

The effectiveness of the stamped, addressed envelope alone was tested by comparing the percentage returns<sup>3</sup> to the seventeenth day of the survey for the sample and the non-sample segments of the population. (On the sixteenth day, a postal card reminder was sent to the sample.) To the seventeenth day, 84 returns had been received from the sample and 11 from the non-sample segments of the population,

representing 66.1 per cent and 12.4 per cent, respectively, of the two segments. The difference, 53.7 per cent, is significant at the .001 level. To this point the cost of postage per return was 10.1 cents for the sample and 24.2 cents for the non-sample segment!

The tenth day after mailing was specified as the "deadline" for returns. This technique was apparently responsible in part for a fifty per cent response by the tenth day. During the second five-day period of the survey, 35.2 per cent of the questionnaires, which were unreturned at the beginning of the second five-day period, were received. During the third five-day period, the eleventh through the fifteenth day of the survey, 17.1 per cent of the unreturned questionnaires were received. The difference, 18.1 per cent, is significant at the .01 level. The flow of responses following the deadline date, thus, was appreciably affected. Although there was no control to test directly its effect, the use of a "deadline" appears to stimulate a rather heavy, immediate response as well as to decrease the rate of returns following the deadline date.

Postal cards designed to prod non-respondents were mailed on the sixteenth, forty-second, and fifty-eighth day of the survey. They were not effective in increasing the flow of responses. For example, 16.2 per cent of the unreturned questionnaires were received during the five-day period (thirteenth through seventeenth day, inclusive) preceding the day the respondents received the first postal card. Only 7 per cent of the responses which had not been returned by the eighteenth day were returned in the five days immediately thereafter, a decrease rather than an increase in the flow. Although there was no control to test directly their effect, postal cards apparently are not to be advised for stimulating the return of questionnaires.

In contrast, successive waves of questionnaires, accompanied by stamped, addressed envelopes, as other studies-by-mail have demonstrated, effectively stimulate responses. The second wave of questionnaires was mailed on the twenty-first day, most of them probably being received on the twenty-third day. Only 7 per cent of the unreturned questionnaires were received between the eighteenth and twenty-second days, inclusive. Between the twenty-third and twenty-seventh days, inclusive, however, 20.8 per cent of the unreturned questionnaires were received. The difference, 13.8 per cent, is significant at the .05 level. Even the third wave of questionnaires, which was ac-

<sup>1</sup> Edward A. Suchman and Boyd McCandless, "Who Answers Questionnaires?", *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 24 (1940), 758-769.

<sup>2</sup> The results of this survey are reported in "Introductory Sociology in the Southeastern States: 1950," *Social Forces*, 29 (March, 1951). They are based upon a sample of 110 institutions, rather than 141 schools. For assistance in tabulating the results, I am indebted to James A. Sartain, Research Assistant, Institute for Research and Training in the Social Sciences, Vanderbilt University.

<sup>3</sup> In this analysis, the date of the canceled postage stamp was employed, rather than the date the return was received by the researcher.

companied by an addressed return envelope without a stamp, was effective also in stimulating responses. Table 1 presents the proportionate responses, by waves.

The cost factor indicates but little change in cost per response when each wave is considered separately, 10.7 cents being the cost per return for the entire sample. The non-sample returns were slightly more expensive, amounting to 11.6 cents per questionnaire.

In tabulating these data, the date the questionnaire was mailed by the respondent was employed rather than the date the response was received by the investigator. Apparently the academic man cleans his desk on Thursday and Friday, for 26 and 30, respectively, of the responses in the sample were mailed on these days. Twenty-one responses were mailed on Monday, indicating the results of a week-end of work by the instructor. But 20 respondents de-

posited their returns in the post office on Wednesday and 18 on Tuesday. Saturday and Sunday, represented by eight and four mailings each, respectively, were dormant days for the academician, but this probably is affected by (1) a tendency of the teacher to avoid his office on these days and (2) the practice of many collegiate substations of the U. S. Postal Service to close on week-ends.

The mean number of responses mailed on Thursday and Friday were significantly different from the mean for the universe of days (significant at the .05 and .01 levels, respectively). Likewise, the means for Saturday and Sunday were significant at the .02 and .01 levels, respectively. No other days of the week, considered as samples, produced mean numbers of mailings which were significantly different from the mean of the universe of days.

TABLE 1. RESPONSE TO SUCCESSIVE WAVES OF QUESTIONNAIRES, AND COSTS, IN A SURVEY OF THE INTRODUCTORY SOCIOLOGY COURSE IN THE SOUTHEASTERN STATES

Wave	Days in Period	Number Mailed	Number Returned	Per Cent Return	Postage Cost Per Return**
The Sample	74	218	127	90.1*	\$0.107
First Wave	22	141	88	62.4	0.103
Second Wave	34	53	29	54.7	0.119
Third Wave	18	24	10	41.7	0.096
Non-Sample Segment	70	89	23	25.8	0.116

\* Excludes duplicate requests.

\*\* Includes costs of postal cards.

# OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS

STATEMENT  
AND



## AUDITOR'S REPORT

For the year ended November 30, 1950

February 15th, 1951.

Executive Committee,  
The American Sociological Society,  
Washington Square,  
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

In accordance with instructions, we have examined the financial records of The American Sociological Society for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1950. We submit herewith the following exhibits:

Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1950..... Exhibit "1"  
Inventory of Securities Examined as at November 30, 1950..... Exhibit "2"

The accounting system of the Society is limited to a cash receipts and disbursements basis, only cash journals being used to record financial transactions. Verifications in connection with the Society's assets (other than cash and security investments), liabilities and capital have been omitted. The only cash receipts confirmed by reference to outside sources were bond interest, dividends on stocks and security redemption proceeds. We made tests to ascertain that membership dues, *Review* subscriptions and sales, *Review* advertising and other types of receipts were properly entered in the cash

receipts journal, and that all receipts recorded therein were properly deposited in the banks. We ascertained that the total cash disbursements for expenses were within the total approved budget appropriations. In addition, we tested the receipts from members for subscriptions to other journals to the disbursements made to the affiliated Societies therefor.

In our opinion, subject to the comments contained in the preceding paragraph, the Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements (Exhibit 1) presents fairly the cash transactions of The American Sociological Society for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1950. The balance of Cash in Banks as at November 30, 1950, totaling \$17,395.67, as shown in Exhibit 1, was confirmed directly to us by the depositories. We made a physical count on December 22, 1950 of the stocks and bonds listed in the Inventory of Securities Examined (Exhibit 2); the values shown for securities purchased subsequent to November 30, 1948 are stated at cost, whereas the values shown for securities acquired prior to that date are stated at values obtained from previous Auditors' reports.

We wish to express our appreciation of the courtesies extended to us by the Executive Officer during the course of our work.

Respectfully submitted,

King and Company  
68 Williams Street  
New York 5, New York

Income a  
Membe  
Activ  
Joint  
Stude  
Dono  
Life

Americ  
Subs  
Sales  
Adve  
Print  
Cleric  
Cleric  
Editi  
Offic

Emplo  
Pay  
Cler  
Misc

Direct  
Sale  
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EXHIBIT 1  
THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETYSTATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS  
AND DISBURSEMENTSFOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED  
NOVEMBER 30, 1950

	Cash Receipts	Cash Dis- bursements	Net
	Receipts	Dis- bursements	
<i>Income and Expense Items:</i>			
Membership Dues:			
Active and Associate	\$16,378.18	\$ 59.75	
Joint	65.00	.....	
Student	4,717.25	.....	
Donor	66.00	.....	
Life	2,015.00	.....	
	<u>\$23,241.43</u>	<u>\$ 59.75</u>	<u>\$23,181.68</u>
American Sociological Review:			
Subscriptions	\$ 6,169.10	\$ 38.90	
Sales of back issues	419.00	8.50	
Advertising income	3,851.02	8.32	
Printing and mailing costs	1.00	15,098.24	
Clerical salaries—editor	.....	2,166.67	
Clerical salaries—office	.....	1,700.00*	
Editor's expenses	.....	334.58	
Office expenses	.....	500.00*	
	<u>\$10,440.12</u>	<u>\$19,855.21</u>	<u>\$ 9,415.09</u>
Employment Bulletin:			
Payments for listing	\$ 103.03	\$ .....	
Clerical salaries	.....	296.00*	
Miscellaneous expenses	.....	552.00*	
	<u>\$ 103.03</u>	<u>\$ 848.00</u>	<u>744.97</u>
Directory (in process of publication):			
Sales—advance	\$ 7.60	\$ .....	
Advertising	.....	.....	
Printing and mailing	.....	.....	
Clerical salaries	.....	1,178.00*	
Miscellaneous expenses	.....	135.00*	
	<u>\$ 7.60</u>	<u>\$ 1,313.00</u>	<u>1,305.40</u>
Annual Meetings (two):			
Program advertising	\$ 1,674.61	\$ .....	
Program printing and mailing	.....	1,813.37	
Book exhibit	845.00	91.50	
Dinners and luncheons	1,948.80	2,034.75	
Clerical expense and time	.....	1,526.93	
Rent refund from AAAS	435.00	.....	
	<u>\$ 4,903.41</u>	<u>\$ 5,466.55</u>	<u>563.14</u>
Office:			
Executive Officer's salary	\$ .....	\$ 3,333.33	
Clerical salaries	.....	3,289.80	
Other office expenses	710.77	4,844.16	
Rent	.....	.....	
	<u>\$ 710.77</u>	<u>\$11,467.29</u>	<u>10,756.52</u>

\* Allocated portion of office salaries and expenses.

EXHIBIT 1—Continued  
THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS  
AND DISBURSEMENTSFOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED  
NOVEMBER 30, 1950

	Cash Receipts	Cash Dis- bursements	Net
	Receipts	Dis- bursements	
<b>Committees:</b>			
Administrative	\$ ..... 118.98		
Research	..... 284.20		
Nominating	..... 312.23		
Reorganization ('49 and '50)	..... 704.81		
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	\$ ..... 1,420.22		\$ 1,420.22
<b>Miscellaneous:</b>			
Dividends on stocks	\$ 243.00	\$ ..... 187.50	
Audit fee	.....	484.27	
Office equipment	.....	73.11	
Moving to new quarters	.....	181.65	
Dues to other societies (ISA, ACLS)	.....	30.33	
Uncollected checks, bank charges, etc.	.....	38.29	
Miscellaneous expenses	110.00	.....	
Miscellaneous receipts	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	\$ 353.00	\$ 995.15	642.15
<b>Total of Income and Expense Items</b>	<hr/>	<hr/>	\$ 1,665.81
<b>Other Items:</b>			
Bond redemption proceeds	\$ 233.50	\$ ..... 5,920.00	
Bonds purchased—cost	.....	2,409.48	
Subscriptions to other journals for members	2,409.48	2,458.73	
Bank transfers	11,344.56	11,344.56	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	\$13,987.54	\$19,723.29	5,735.75
<b>Total for fiscal year ended November 30, 1950</b>	<hr/>	<hr/>	\$ 7,401.56
<b>Cash in Banks:</b>			
Balance—November 30, 1949	\$30,508.49		
Less:			
Outstanding checks	\$10,418.91		
Taxes withheld	18.11		
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	10,437.02	20,071.47	20,071.47
Balance—Nov. 30, 1950	\$17,395.67		
Add deposits in transit	870.98		
Less:			
Outstanding checks	\$ 5,380.44		
Taxes withheld	216.30		
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	5,596.74	12,669.91	\$12,669.91
<b>Total Cash Receipts and Disbursements</b>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$73,818.37	\$73,818.37	

**EXHIBIT 2**  
**THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY**

**INVENTORY OF SECURITIES EXAMINED****As at November 30, 1950**

Description	Type	Date Acquired	Face Amount or Number of Shares	Book Value	Interest or Dividends Received
<i>Bonds:</i>					
United States Savings Bonds	Series F, due 6-1-57	June, 1945	\$2,000.00	\$ 1,480.00	\$ .....
United States Savings Bonds	Series F, due 8-1-62	August, 1950	8,000.00	5,920.00	.....
<i>Stocks:</i>					
American Telephone and Telegraph Company	Capital	May, 1932	3	296.00	27.00
Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company	Common	July, 1945	10	526.58	10.00
Consolidated Natural Gas Company	Capital	December, 1943	1	.....	2.00
Company of Delaware	Capital	February, 1940	12(A)	533.56	69.00
Standard Oil Company of New Jersey	Capital	1945 & 1948	20	1,313.75	100.00
Union Pacific Railroad Company	Common	1938 & 1939	5	532.41	35.00
United States Steel Corporation	7% Cum. Pfd.	May, 1938	2	(B)	.....
West Penn Electric Company	7% Cum. Pfd.				
<b>Totals</b>				<b>\$10,602.30</b>	<b>\$243.00</b>

**Notes:**

(A) Does not include Series F scrip for 48/100 shares acquired in June, 1949 as a stock dividend. The scrip, which is held by the Society, expires in June, 1951.  
 (B) Redeemed December, 1949 at \$115.00 and \$1.75 accrued dividend.

**FINANCIAL REPORT FROM THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE**

Table 1 summarizes the expenditures for the past year, comparing them with the authorized budget for that year, and indicating the extent to which the various activities of the Society were self-supporting (through subscriptions, advertising, etc.) or were supported from the Carnegie grant or from dues. This statement, which adjusts the cash figures as shown by the audit in order to fit the current year more exactly, indicates a total income of \$40,661 (including \$6,000 allocated from the grant) and a net of \$1,551.

Table 2 shows the budget under which the

Society is at present operating. This assumes a continued expansion in membership and in the circulation of the *Review*; includes publication of the Employment Bulletin, some special Bulletins on professional matters, an Index to the *Review*, and provides for future publication of a revised Directory of Members. The plan involves use of an additional \$3,000 from the Carnegie grant, and \$1,250 of the Society's reserves, an amount which, it is hoped, will ultimately be made up by sales of the Index. This budget will be reviewed in the middle of the year by the Executive Committee.

Respectfully submitted,  
 MATILDA WHITE RILEY

*Executive Officer*

TABLE 1. FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR THE FISCAL YEAR 1950  
(Estimated January 1951)

Expenditures	Budget Total	Total Actual	Unex-pended Fund	Income Allocations:		
				Dues	Grant	All Other (Subscr., Ads, etc.)
I. Publications						
Review	\$20,041	\$19,799	\$242	\$ 9,055	\$ ....	\$10,744
Employment Bulletin	848	848	...	745	....	103
Directory	3,328	3,328	...	2,890	....	438
Total	\$24,217	\$23,975	\$242	\$12,690	\$ ....	\$11,285
II. Annual Meeting	1,704	1,700	4	....	....	1,700
III. Office (excl. amt. included under I)	10,028	9,989	39	4,589	5,400	....
IV. Committees	1,411	1,315	96	715	600	....
V. Miscellaneous	926	995	(-69)	748	....	247
VI. Net Payment Chargeable to 1949	1,074	1,136	(-62)	1,026	....	110
Total	\$39,360	\$39,110	\$250	\$19,768	\$6,000	\$13,342
Total Income	\$40,063	\$40,661*		\$21,166*	\$6,000	\$13,495
Net	\$ 703	\$ 1,551*		\$ 1,398	....	\$ 153

\* In addition, \$2,015 was received as income from Life Memberships, and was deposited in the savings bank.

TABLE 2. BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR 1951  
(Estimated January 1951)

Expenditures	Budget as Authorized by the Executive Committee	Details of Publication Budget	Income Allocations:			
			Dues	Grant	From Reserve	All Other (Subscr., Ads., etc.)
I. Publications						
Review		\$23,727	\$11,502	\$ 700	....	\$11,525
Employment Bulletin		641	551	....	....	90
Directory		1,362	1,312	....	....	50
Bulletin		1,372	1,372	....	....	....
Index to Review		2,500	....	....	\$1,250	1,250
Miscellaneous		225	225	....	....	....
Total		\$29,827	\$29,827	\$14,962	\$ 700	\$1,250
II. Annual Meeting		1,780	....	....	....	1,780
III. Office (excl. amt. included under I)		11,177	8,877	2,300	....	....
IV. Committees		975	975	....	....	....
V. Miscellaneous		522	295	....	....	227
Total		\$44,281		\$25,109	\$ 3,000	\$1,250
Total Income		\$44,307		\$25,056	\$ 3,000	\$1,250
Net		\$ 26		\$(-53)		\$ 79

**TYPE OF PAPERS REQUESTED FOR  
SECTION ON RELIGION, 1951  
ANNUAL MEETING OF THE  
SOCIETY**

A Section on Religion will be presented at the national meetings of the Society next fall, for the first time in three years. The Chairman of this Section wishes to obtain field research papers which demonstrate concretely the impact of religious beliefs and activities on the lives of individuals or groups in urban communities. It is hoped to avoid general treatises of a broad

speculative type; case studies of dramatic, minor religious sects; as well as evaluative studies of rural or urban parish needs. Recognizing both the difficulties of research design, as well as the neglect of work in the field, the Chairman feels nevertheless that (a) The area is crucial for understanding urban social relationships and processes, and (b) There are a number of such studies, as yet unpublished, which should be brought to the attention of the Society. Communications should be sent to William J. Goode, 409 Alumni House, Columbia University.

## NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS



### NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

The *American Sociological Review* is interested in improving, standardizing, and broadening the coverage of this section of the journal. It would like to encourage the various departments of sociology to submit professional news items. In the past some departments have been overzealous in sending in notices while many others have sent in material rarely or not at all. It has also been felt that a statement of policy regarding the content of news items was needed. The editors therefore offer the following suggestions.

#### Appropriate to Include

- Academic appointments, including new appointments, promotions, resignations, retirements, and visiting professorships. (In the case of appointments to the summer school teaching staff it is more important that the announcement be made before the summer session rather than after the event.)
- Leaves of absence.
- Deaths of faculty members, in service or emeriti.
- Special awards, honorary degrees, and other types of recognition.
- Appointments to governmental and private organizations.
- New training programs and major curricular developments.
- Special research projects and grants.
- Conferences and institutes held.
- Activities of sociology clubs; new sociological organizations.

#### Do Not Include

- Publications by department members (Notice of these will appear in "Publications Received" and many of them will be reviewed).
- Fellowships and scholarships available, except when newly established. (The Society hopes in the future to be able to issue annual lists of fellowships and scholarships in sociology.)
- Appointments to graduate assistantships.
- M.A. and Ph.D. degrees conferred on specific persons.
- Notices of persons working toward their doctoral degrees.
- Public lectures and occasional talks.
- Papers delivered at conferences.

*Time schedule.* Contributors should realize that it takes two months to print and distribute an issue of the *Review*. Announcements should be sent to the Editor not later than the middle of the second month preceding the month of issue; e.g., to be included in the June issue, material must be received by April 15.

Please make notices concise so that as many institutions as possible may be covered in our limited space.

*Other Organizations.* Notices of professional interest will be welcome from governmental and other agencies employing sociologists.

**International Sociological Association.** The ISA is continuing to explore the possibilities of international cooperation in the field of sociology. Through its Research Committee it is collecting and sifting a number of proposals for international research. Suggestions thus far received can be grouped in three categories: sociological research on the problems of underdeveloped areas, comparative studies of social structure, and international re-

search within the general area of tensions problems. The ISA is interested in further and more elaborate suggestions for comparative international research, and is eager to know something about the actual demands for such research and the actual interests of those willing to devote intellectual energy to such enterprises. The office of the Executive Secretary, Mr. Erik Rinde, is Grev Wedels pl. 4, Oslo, Norway.

**UNESCO.** A brief report (UNESCO/SS/2) has just been issued for general distribution which outlines UNESCO's major undertakings now in progress in social tensions research. The current work of the Social Tensions project in the Social Sciences Programme falls into four main groups: (1) studies of national character and allied questions, (2) studies of technology and tensions from the standpoint of education, (3) studies of tensions arising out of population questions, (4) studies of tensions arising from racial contacts and the problems of ethnic groups.

**Institute of Sociology** (Le Play House). The 1951 Summer Course on "English Town and Countryside Today," organized for American, Overseas and British students, will be held July 9-22. It will be under the direction of Alexander Farquharson, Secretary of the Institute and Editor of the *Sociological Review*. The area for study will be in the West Midlands and Wales. Fees for students from the United States and overseas will be 22 guineas (about \$65). Application should be made to Mrs. A. Farquharson, Le Play House, Ledbury Herefordshire, England, or to the Institute of International Education, 2 West 45 Street, New York 19, N. Y. For students wishing to do additional field work there will be subsequent meetings in the French Pyrenees (July 28-August 11), Norway (August 21-September 6), and Denmark (August 17-31).

**Institutet för Samhällsforskning** (Institute of Social Research). The first sociological seminar of the Institute, designed primarily for American students, will be held this summer, July 10-August 1, at Marston Hill, Mullsjö, Sweden. American sponsors include Conrad Arensberg, Bryn Hovde, Harry Shapiro, and James Mickel Williams. Four courses will be given: Scandinavian Family Sociology; Protestantism, Nationalism and Socialism; Community Field Work; The Chinese Family in Chinese Society. Instruction will be given in English, German, or the Scandinavian languages, according to the student's preference. Fees: board and lodging, \$80; instruction, \$15 per course. Application should be made to the Director, International Sociological Seminar, Marston Hill, Mullsjö, Sweden.

**National Council on Family Relations.** The annual conference will take place August 27-31, 1951, at College Camp, Lake Geneva, Wisconsin. The topic will be "Family Roots for Mature Living" with emphasis on normal, positive values in family life and the development of resources within families for meeting stresses and strains in an uncertain world. The conference will provide for family living and recreation, and includes a special children's program. The Council's office is at 1126 East 59 Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

**Personality.** The first issue of this new quarterly journal on the psychology of human behavior appeared in January. Edited by Dr. Werner Wolff of Bard College, the journal is concerned with the development of important and controversial topics in the field of personality. Each issue will be devoted to recent researches on one specific subject. Thus the January issue is on Frustration, the April issue will be on Personality Formation, the July on Hypnosis and Personality, and the October on Hydrotherapy. Annual subscription price is \$6.00; outside of the United States, \$7.00. Orders should be addressed to Grune and Stratton, Inc., 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

**Scripps Foundation, Miami University**, has initiated a series of occasional research papers entitled *Scripps Foundation Studies in Population Distribution* which will consist of research articles and reports developed as a part of the Foundation's long-range program of research on the subject of population distribution. In most cases they will be those articles and reports which are too lengthy for publication in one of the journals or those for which a very rapid distribution is desired.

One copy of each of the smaller issues (about 15 pages or less) will be sent free to members of the Population Association of America. In addition, free copies will be mailed to other persons specializing in the subject of the particular paper. Five hundred copies will be retained for later binding and sale as complete volumes.

For longer publications in this series it may be necessary to recover a portion of the printing costs by making a small charge. A printing of 1,000 copies of each issue is anticipated. Copies remaining after the distribution to members of the Population Association of America will be distributed at a small cost, usually 25-50 cents.

**The Second International Gerontological Congress** will be held in St. Louis, September 9-14 inclusive. There will be four sections, one of which will deal with topics in the area of Sociology, Psychology, Education and Religion. Program Chairman for this Section is Robert J. Havighurst, Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago. There will be several symposia, as well as several sessions devoted to contributed papers. Contributed papers are invited as well as suggestions for symposia. Titles of proposed papers should be accompanied by an abstract of not more than 200 words. Correspondence concerning the program should be directed to Professor Havighurst.

**U. S. Department of Commerce.** In the interest of national security, a program has been established to help the public guard voluntarily against the harmful release of technical information, even though it is not subject to formal security restrictions. It will be administered by the Office of

Technical Services, which will advise, on request, as to whether specific technical data should be disclosed, withheld, or given limited distribution. It is entirely up to the individual or organization whether or not to act on the Government's advice, since the program is completely voluntary.

**District of Columbia Sociological Society.**

At the meeting on December 4, 1950, arranged in connection with the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, the speakers were Dr. Otto Klineberg, Columbia University, on "Prejudice in Children and Youth," and Dr. Reuben Hill, University of North Carolina, on "The Present Status of Family Research."

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On February 12, 1951, the meeting was devoted to a discussion of "The Professional Role of Sociologists," with Peter P. Lejins, Myron F. Lewis, and Conrad Taeuber as speakers.

Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas, University of Pennsylvania, was the main speaker at the meeting on March 1, 1951. Her paper, "Some Social Aspects of the Changing Demography of the Japanese American Minority in the United States," was discussed by Dr. Calvert L. Dedrick, Bureau of the Census.

**The Southern Sociological Society**, which now has more than 350 paid members located in all southern states and several others, will hold its 1951 meeting at the Atlanta-Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia, April 27 and 28. The annual address will be given by Dr. Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina.

The program will feature sections pertaining to the teaching of family relations courses, social work and public welfare, social psychology, community development, sociological research, and contributed papers. Program chairmen for these sections are: Marion B. Smith, Louisiana State University; Robert I. Kutak, University of Louisville; Raymond F. Bellamy, Florida State University; Laura S. Ebaugh, Furman University; T. Lynn Smith, University of Florida; and Morton B. King, University of Mississippi.

Officers of the Society are:

President—H. C. Brearley, Peabody College

1st Vice-President—Homer L. Hitt, Louisiana State University

2nd Vice-President—Robert I. Kutak, University of Louisville

Secretary-Treasurer—Leland B. Tate, Virginia Polytechnic Institute

Other persons on the Executive Committee include the following elected members:

Belle Boone Beard, Sweet Briar College

Allen D. Edwards, Winthrop College

Joseph A. Durrenberger, Valdosta State College

Marion B. Smith, Louisiana State University

Mozell C. Hill, Atlanta University

John M. MacLachlan, University of Florida; and past presidents

Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University

T. Lynn Smith, University of Florida

Coyle E. Moore, Florida State University

Wayland Hayes, Vanderbilt University

Lee M. Brooks, University of North Carolina

**Adelphi College**, Garden City, New York. The School of Social Work is seeking "out of print" books, pamphlets, and periodicals to augment its library. Especially requested are professional periodicals, books and pamphlets published prior to 1945, proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work prior to 1918, and special studies of state or community welfare programs. Those wishing to make a gift of such material should send it collect via American Express; those wishing to sell should write to Dean A. F. Handel, stating the nature of the material and the price.

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**Boston University.** The Department of Sociology and Anthropology, in cooperation with the Massachusetts Society for Social Hygiene, offers a summer workshop in Sex Guidance in Family Life Education for three weeks starting July 9, 1951. Co-leaders of this workshop will be Perry Dunlap Smith of the North Shore Country Day School in Illinois, and Professor Herbert D. Lamson of Boston University. In addition to local staffs of the University and the Society for Social Hygiene there will be visiting lecturers. This workshop is designed for teachers, administrators, parents, librarians, nurses, social workers, religious workers, guidance counselors, and any others who wish orientation and techniques in this field. The workshop will carry graduate or undergraduate credit depending upon the work done.

**Brooklyn College of the City of New York.** The following promotions in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology are announced: Feliks Gross to Associate Professor; LeRoy Bowman to

Assistant Professor; and Robert Ehrich to Assistant Professor.

Part-time Visiting Professors and the seminars they will offer during the Spring Semester 1951 in the graduate division of the department are: William Spencer Bernard, Executive Director, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, "Minority Groups in the United States;" Samuel H. Flowerman of the American Jewish Committee, "Techniques of Social Action;" Joseph K. Folsom of Vassar College, "The Modern Family;" John V. Murra of Vassar College, formerly of the University of Puerto Rico, "Culture and Personality;" and Clarence Senior of the Government of Puerto Rico, "Techniques of Social Surveys."

Jerome Himelhoch has resigned from New York University to accept a position at Brooklyn College as Instructor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

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**Cornell University** has received a grant of \$325,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation to support a broadened program of Southeast Asia studies aimed at greater understanding of the peoples of Thailand, Burma, Indo-China, Malaya, Indonesia and the Philippines. The grant will permit the university to expand its present resources into a rounded program of studies dealing with the history, languages and cultures, and contemporary economic, political and social problems of the area.

The Southeast Asia program will provide "area and language" training for carefully selected graduate students who at the same time will be working toward higher degrees in one of the recognized fields of the social sciences, humanities, or natural sciences. Students will be expected to complete their training through actual research experience in the field.

The program will be directed by Lauriston Sharp, professor of anthropology, with Edwin P. Reubens, assistant professor of economics, as associate director. It will be centered in the Department of Far Eastern Studies, of which Knight Biggerstaff, professor of Chinese history, is chairman.

A number of graduate fellowships will be offered by Cornell each year in order to encourage promising students who wish to work under the Southeast Asia program.

**Michigan State College.** The Department of Sociology and Anthropology through the Social Research Service has recently accepted \$15,000 from the National Mental Health Foundation and \$28,000 from the Health Information Foundation for research in the field of health. The Michigan

State College Social Research Service and Agricultural Experiment Station are carrying on a wide variety of research projects in Michigan and elsewhere in the United States. An integration of the Department's three disciplines—Social Anthropology, Sociology, and Social Psychology—and other pertinent social and natural sciences is an important feature of the various projects. Graduate students desiring research assistantships to be used in field studies which may lead toward the Ph.D. degree may apply to Charles R. Hoffer, Acting Head of the Department.

Through recent arrangements with the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations of the U. S. Department of Agriculture resulting in a revised and amplified cooperative agreement with the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, technical assistance funds provided under the Point IV program are available to the Department's Area Research Center. Work of the Area Research Center in Latin America, financed by the Carnegie Corporation, Michigan State College, Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, the USDA and SSRC, will continue. Graduate students desiring to do field work in Latin America in the Area Research Center may write directly to C. P. Loomis now on sabbatical leave at the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, Turrialba, Costa Rica. After June letters to him should be addressed to the Department in East Lansing.

**Mississippi State College.** A statewide conference on Community Development in Mississippi, attended by community leaders and agency representatives, was held at the college in February. D. W. Rivers, assistant professor in the department, was active in planning the conference, as was the College Committee on Community Development of which Harold F. Kaufman is chairman. Frank Alexander of the TVA and E. J. Niederfrank of the Federal Extension Office were two out-of-state sociologists participating in this meeting. All four of the sociologists named above had participated earlier in a workshop on Community Development in the South, held as a sectional meeting of the annual convention of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers at Memphis.

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**New York University.** Dr. Henry Pratt Fairchild, Professor Emeritus of Sociology, was honored on March 4th with a reception at the Hotel Brevoort, New York, under the auspices of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, of which he is National Secretary.

Former students, colleagues and friends of Dr. Fairchild have also honored him by arranging for the publication of a collection of his essays under the title of *Versus: Reflections of a Sociologist* (Philosophical Library, 1950), which appeared in January, 1951.

**Northwestern University.** At the Conference on Science, Technology and World Resources, held at the University February 28-March 2, the subject of "World Population—Present and Future" was discussed by Kingsley Davis, Columbia University; Joseph Spengler, Duke University; and Irene Taeuber, Office of Population Research, Princeton University; with Warren S. Thompson, director of the Scripps Foundation of Miami University, serving as moderator of the panel. Dr. Thompson also participated in the session addressed to the question, "Can Science and Technology Meet Population Demands on World Resources?" Frank Notestein, director of the Office of Population Research, Princeton University, gave an evening lecture on "World Needs and Resources."

**Ohio State University.** Kurt H. Wolff was a visiting professor on the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research in the summer of 1950, where he taught a course on the small community, based on his research in "Loma." He was elected chairman of the sociology and anthropology section of the Ohio Academy of Science for the current year.

**Ohio Wesleyan University.** Dr. Paul G. Cressey has been appointed Professor of Sociology beginning in September, 1950. He was formerly Director of Social Welfare Council of the Oranges and Maplewood in New Jersey. Dr. Ilse E. Nelson is Assistant Professor of Sociology, having served in this capacity since September.

**Oregon State College.** Glenn A. Bakkum, Head of the Department of Sociology, was Visiting Professor at the Province of British Columbia, Department of Education 1950 Summer Session at Victoria, B. C. During the first semester, 1950-51, Professor Bakkum was Visiting Professor at Cornell University where he did part-time teaching and part-time research in the Department of Rural Sociology. He has been awarded a Fulbright Grant to serve as Lecturer in Rural Sociology at the American University in Cairo, Egypt, for the second semester of this academic year. He expects to resume his duties at Oregon State College in September, 1951.

Mrs. Louise Simerville (B.A., Willamette University; M.A., University of Oregon) has been appointed instructor in sociology during the college year 1950-51.

Robert H. Dann, professor of sociology, is Acting Head of the Department for the current academic year.

**Pennsylvania State College.** The Department of Sociology includes the following members: Seth W. Russell, Chairman; Professors Jessie Bernard and Walter Couto; Associate Professors Arnold W. Green and Maurice A. Mook; Assistant Professors Edward Abramson, Samuel W. Blizzard, Jr., and Robert E. Clark; Instructors Clarence W. Anderson and George Field.

Professor Mook spent the summer of 1950 doing field work among the Old Order Amish of Crawford County, Pennsylvania. This is part of a larger project to be conducted throughout the state.

**University of Florida.** The success of the Conference on the Caribbean at Mid-Century, held December 7-9, 1950, has led to plans for a similar meeting annually. Among the more than 300 who attended were representatives from 30 universities in 19 states, 6 Latin American republics, and Puerto Rico. Round table discussions were held on Agricultural Problems of the Caribbean, and Language and Literature of the Caribbean. The panel on sociological and anthropological problems had as speakers John Gillin, professor of anthropology, University of North Carolina; Lowry Nelson, professor of sociology, University of Minnesota; and Jose Cruxent, director of the Museum of National Sciences, Caracas, Venezuela.

**University of Hawaii.** Dr. Richard R. LaPiere, of Stanford University, will teach two courses, personality and culture, and the development of social thought, during the summer session of 1951. Dr. Bernhard L. Hörmann, of the regular staff, will teach in a summer session which is to be held in a branch of the University of Hawaii, in Hilo, Hawaii.

**University of Kentucky.** Dr. Harry E. Best, a member of the sociology staff since 1919, and head of the Department of Sociology until 1943, attained emeritus status on February 1. His colleagues honored him at an informal dinner and by the presentation of a gift of books to Gallaudet College, for the deaf, Washington, D. C., in which Professor Best has long been interested.

Howard W. Beers has returned to his duties as Head of the Department of Rural Sociology after spending his sabbatical leave in Greece where he was a Fulbright Professor of Rural Sociology at the Superior School of Agriculture, Athens. He was also Coordinator of Rural Projects of the Near East Foundation, and Agricultural Extension Collaborator with E.C.A. During the first semester Dr. Beers

was also Acting Head of the Department of Sociology, in the absence of Irwin T. Sanders.

Dr. Sanders resumed his duties on February 1. During the first semester he was at Harvard University continuing his research on the Balkans. This leave of absence was a combination of his sabbatical leave and a special leave granted to him by the University as a result of his being elected the Distinguished Professor of the year by the faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences.

C. Arnold Anderson, in collaboration with the Russian Research Center of Harvard University, is making a study of "Social Selection in Russian Education." Dr. Anderson's research is sponsored by the University of Kentucky Research Fund.

During the past summer Dr. James W. Gladden gathered data on family life in two mining communities of Eastern Kentucky, focussing his attention on changes in family relationships. Analysis of these data is now in process.

New staff members this year include: James W. Hughes (M.S., Temple University), Instructor in Sociology, who was a teaching fellow at Indiana University and has completed residence work for the Ph.D. degree there; Gordon Lewis, part time instructor in sociology, who is also completing his work for a master's degree here; Albert Orcutt (M.A., Columbia University), part-time instructor and community analyst in the Bureau of Community Service; J. H. Jones (M.A., Louisiana State University), graduate assistant in the Bureau of Community Service, and John Roe, research assistant in Rural Sociology. Marie Mason, Gilbert Hardee, and James N. Young also continue as research assistants in Rural Sociology.

James N. Young has been awarded a Paul Harris Fellowship for Advanced Study. This award, given by Rotary International, is for a year of study and research in Rural Sociology in New Zealand. Mr. Young will be at Massey Agricultural College, beginning about July 1.

Research projects currently underway in the Rural Sociology Department are in the fields of population and migration, social organization, family composition and characteristics, and diffusion of new farm practices. Leaders of these projects are Doctors Howard W. Beers, Ward W. Bauder, James S. Brown, and A. Lee Coleman. Ralph J. Ramsey, Field Agent in Rural Sociology,

is in charge of a special study of factors relating to success or failure of 4-H Club programs.

**The University of Miami.** Coral Gables, Florida, received a national citation for work in intergroup education from the Commission on Educational Organizations of the National Conference of Christians and Jews.

The award was in recognition of efforts by the University's Department of Human Relations, under the chairmanship of M. A. F. Ritchie, to bring about better understanding between all groups comprising the American population. The citation stated in part: "The University of Miami has contributed pioneering services to its community and the nation in this special field of education and merits recognition for acceptance of the first chair in Human Relations, the Bronston Professorship, and establishment of the first collegiate Department of Human Relations in 1947."

**University of Pennsylvania.** Dr. James H. S. Bossard served as editor of the November issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, a symposium of twenty-four articles under the title of "Toward Family Stability."

Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas has received a grant from the American Philosophical Society for her project of editing and annotating a wartime diary written by a Japanese-American.

**University of Wisconsin, College of Agriculture.** George W. Hill, Professor of Rural Sociology, is on leave for the spring semester and summer. He is serving as advisor on immigration and colonization policy to the Venezuelan government.

Margaret J. Hagood, of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, will be visiting Professor of Rural Sociology for the spring semester. She will offer a course and a seminar on rural population and will do research in this field.

Robin M. Williams of Cornell University will be visiting Professor of Rural Sociology for the summer of 1951. He will offer courses in rural social trends and intergroup relations.

Wm. H. Sewell is serving as Chairman of the Faculty Division of the Social Sciences.

## LUTHER LEE BERNARD, 1881-1951

THE remarkable life of Luther Lee Bernard came to an end in State College, Pennsylvania, January 23. He joined this department in 1947, upon his retirement from Washington University in St. Louis. He was in excellent health during his first three years here. Always available to students at his office and at home, he gave an unusual amount of time to the members of his classes. For a man who spent so many hours writing each day he gave extraordinary amount of attention to students. He liked them. He met his classes until ten weeks before his death, showing remarkable capacity to carry on during the painful progression of his illness.

His long life in the academic profession began in Pierce City, Missouri, at Lamar College, where he taught science and foreign languages. After several years he received a fellowship at the University of Chicago where he completed his Ph.D. in sociology under A. W. Small in 1910. With the publication of *Instinct* in 1924 his fame became world-wide, being especially well received in Russia. This pioneer work greatly affected sociological explanation, diminishing the emphasis placed on biological determinism. In 1926 *Introduction to Social Psychology* was published. This was a lasting work. In 1948 a Spanish edition was published by the University of Mexico, the only text in social psychology to be translated into Spanish. Numerous later works were to refer to the "excellent and critical analysis" to be found in these two works. He was commissioned to do significant sections in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. In 1932 he was elected president of the American Sociological Society. Typical of the man's thoroughness and conception of an assignment is *Fields and Methods of Sociology* (1934), a volume published under Bernard's editorship, containing—with some exceptions—the papers read at the meetings of the American Sociological Society when he was president. He continued

through his later years to publish voluminously: *Social Control, Introduction to Sociology, War and Its Causes, Origins of American Sociology*, contributed sections to many other books, and scores of articles on method, on culture, on the history of sociology, on general sociology. L. L. Bernard had impact on students. His teaching was masterful. His erudition was tempered by humor so that it never overwhelmed the student. Many well-known sociologists were members of his classes especially at Chicago, Minnesota, and North Carolina and have expressed their debt to him as both teacher and friend, sometimes in letters and sometimes in their own published works. He spent a great deal of time helping students and colleagues, personally and professionally.

His directness sometimes offended people. The amenities of polite deviousness were not common to him. He spelled out usually what he had to say and insisted on clarity where motives were involved. His own could usually bear scrutiny, for he rarely harbored ill will. He would frankly, but without animosity, call attention to a device or an evasion and in all friendliness tell a person that he would like to have the matter factually stated. There was no art of face-saving in L. L. Bernard. He ever waged war on the more pleasant fictions, especially when used to harbor ill will. He provoked controversy, in fact assured it, by his directness and persistence in getting to the central point of anything he thought important. He insisted on objectivity and frankness in others and he governed himself even more rigorously according to these canons. Any matter he regarded as principle required a last ditch stand. In spite of his candor, he aroused great loyalty and affection in friends and students who appreciated his strength and courage even when they could not match them.

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ing. For recreation he also wrote and translated poetry, especially from Spanish writers.

His mind was always at work. He wrote from an outline, with remarkably little dependence on outside equipment or paraphernalia. His filing system was, as one observer once pointed out, on a geological principle. His desk seemed always to be in disorder, yet he could usually find what he needed.

Much energy and financial cost went into his enormous library. It was quite a storage problem when he first brought his books to Penn State. Possibly 20,000 volumes make up his collection, including a remarkable number of books by Latin American authors and Latin American periodicals. He was very

generous in loaning books to students and in encouraging them to use his library. It was his wish that his books become the property of the last institution in which he taught. The L. L. Bernard Memorial Collection is now being catalogued in the College Library.

The impressions of a colleague who held him in admiration and affection have subjective coloring. An obituary is not the place for a final evaluation of this prodigious scholar; that will be written in the measure of his imprint on his students and in the significance of his published works.

SETH RUSSELL

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## BOOK REVIEWS



*Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency.* By SHELDON and ELEANOR GLUECK. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1950. xv, 399 pp. \$5.00.

This is the first volume in the authors' prodigious ten-year research into the causes of delinquency conducted under the auspices of the Harvard Law School and financed by 16 foundations. Shifting their interest from the evaluation of peno-correctional treatment, they hope in the present investigation to arrive at more exact scientific information on causation, which may help to remedy the generally unsatisfactory practices of therapy revealed in their earlier researches.

In order to study the causes of persistent rather than occasional misconduct, the Gluecks selected as their experimental group 500 boys committed (largely from Boston) to two Massachusetts state correctional schools, to be studied at the rate of 100 a year for five years. A control group of 500 proved non-delinquents from the Boston public schools was matched boy for boy with the delinquents for age, general intelligence, national origin, and residence in underprivileged neighborhoods.

They set up the study as a multi-lateral approach with four levels for the comparison of delinquents with non-delinquents; namely, the sociocultural, the somatic, the intellectual, and the emotional-temperamental. The data were collected and interpreted independently by separate staffs including 33 part and full time workers: social investigators, a psychiatrist-physician, physical anthropologists, psychologists, Rorschach analysts, and statisticians (no sociologists!).

By using standard techniques for measuring variation statistically significant differences between the delinquents and the non-delinquents were indicated at all four levels. Socially the delinquents had less satisfactory family relations and home conditions and their school and community relations and experiences were less favorable than those of the non-delinquents. The data for this part of the study were gathered by trained investigators.

As a result of a 20 to 30 minute medical examination of each boy, no significant differences in health were discovered. The physique study, however, based on Sheldon's photographic somatotype techniques showed the delinquents to be physically superior, more masculine and freer from psychoneurotic handicaps than the non-delinquents.

On the intellectual level as indicated by the Wechsler-Bellevue intelligence test and the Stanford Achievement Tests in arithmetic and reading, the delinquents showed less aptitude in vocabulary, information, and comprehension, but excelled in performance tests. The delinquents lacked in concentration and commonsense and were more unrealistic and unsystematic thinkers.

The Rorschach test and a psychiatric interview of each boy revealed that the delinquents suffered neither from frustration nor anxiety. They were self-confident, self-reliant, and had no normal fear of failure. They acted impulsively with little self-control. They were profound extroverts, but day-dreamed excessively. They had marked preferences for excitement and adventure. The delinquents resolved their conflicts by extroversion; the non-delinquents, by introversion.

On the basis of their findings the Gluecks have constructed prediction tables which they believe are now ready for experimental application.

Like many good researches this study raises more questions than it answers. How representative is the sample of delinquents selected? Are delinquents from the underprivileged neighborhoods of Boston typical of delinquents in other kinds of neighborhoods, or in other urban or rural environments, or in other states? Are committed delinquents typical of serious delinquents who have never been committed or even detected? Are delinquents chosen from state correctional schools representative of persistent delinquents whose parents have other resources for handling their problems? Are delinquents drawn largely from a Roman Catholic population typical of Protestant, Jewish or religiously unaffiliated delinquents?

A rather naive assumption of the authors is that the socio-cultural environments of underprivileged neighborhoods are uniform within all such areas and unchanging even in the same area over a five year period in their impact upon their boy residents. Every "area sociologist" knows that the social influences in these districts vary from tenement to tenement, from gang to gang, and from street to street as well as from year to year. The effective dynamic factors in such neighborhoods are the personal relations and the differential associations which may operate even within the same gang, rather than the gross externals of physical deterioration, recreational facilities, or street life. It is incorrect to assume, therefore, that these factors can be held constant merely by matching delinquents with non-delinquents from similar, not even from the same, "underprivileged areas."

A more serious methodological question arises from the attempt to penetrate the dynamics of delinquency causation merely by the multiplication of statistical associations. First, how can we be sure that the authors have included all significant crimogenic factors? Why include movie attendance and omit comic book reading? Why include the bare fact of gang membership without considering the type and power of the gang and the degree of the boy's participation in its activities? Secondly, a mosaic of statistical correlations can never reconstruct a real delinquent or even approximate him. The key to understanding the operation of the causes of delinquency lies in ascertaining the interplay of all crimogenic factors, contributory and positive, in the life of the individual delinquent. Without the construction of extensive case-studies, it is difficult to assess the role of any one or any combination of purported factors differentiating delinquents from non-delinquents in this study. It should be borne in mind also that the differences established, while statistically significant, did not characterize all the members of both groups. It is obvious that the differentiating traits did not operate *per se*, but could only get their significance as crimogenic forces in relation to additional factors which could be revealed only in case-study analysis. It is the mechanisms that would be revealed by detailed case-studies of the local habitats as well as of the boys, that would indicate the real causes and how they work.

A final question may be raised with reference to cause-and-effect sequences, which is of vital concern to the study of etiology, and with which

the correlational trait study cannot possibly come to grips without detailed life-history materials. Are the traits that differentiate the delinquents from the non-delinquents cause or effect of the delinquency? Each delinquent has a "natural history." Where in the delinquent career does a given factor enter and what part does it play? For example, to what extent are the traumatic effects of the first court appearance and subsequent appearances and commitments and their associated experiences related to the genesis of so-called delinquent traits? To what extent would the occasional or undetected delinquent develop these traits if subjected to similar experiences?

With all the questions raised by this study, however, it is safe to assume that it is a real contribution to our knowledge and a landmark in the systematic study of delinquency causation.

FREDERICK M. THRASHER

New York University.

*The Criminality of Women.* By OTTO POLLAK. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950. xxi, 180 pp. \$3.50.

The major thesis of this excellent study is that "the criminality of women reflects their biological nature in a given cultural setting." The author parades an impressive array of evidence and analysis in support of it, in the course of which it becomes increasingly clear that the concept of less female than male crime may be simply another of those happy myths by which we delude ourselves.

The book is apt to bring down on the author's head the ire of men as well as women who feel threatened by any attack on the chivalric "sugar and spice and everything nice" stereotype of the female. To those with a scientific interest in the subject, however, this objective scrutiny of the female criminal is a welcome addition to the literature.

Pollak effectively demonstrates the inadequacy of available statistics as a valid index of female crime or the real sex differential in criminality. It is specifically the undetected, unprosecuted, and therefore unrecorded nature of much of women's criminality, says the author, which makes women appear less criminal than men. Women's criminal proclivities, moreover, are aided and abetted by their capacity for deceit, the latter conditioned by both biological and social factors. Homicide provides a vivid illustration. Frequently able to remain above

suspicion, the murderer chooses her victims largely from her intimate family circle; husbands have top priority.

The study is well-organized and well-written. Pollak is to be commended for ably demonstrating that scientific writing need not be dull. There is an introductory, critical review of the literature. Various chapters then take up the masked nature of female crime; types of crime and techniques of the woman offender; a critical evaluation of the real extent of female crime (particularly abortion and shoplifting) and the effect of women's emancipation; personal characteristics of the female criminal; and, finally, biological and social factors in their relation to female crime. Comparisons are made between male and female crime in terms of type, technique, motivational and background factors.

Certain of the author's interpretations are open to question. In his attempt to portray woman as more criminal than heretofore believed, he tends to overlook, in terms of physical factors, her general inability to run as fast, fight as hard, or be as agile as the male, and the fact that she is handicapped by pregnancy and childbirth. These elements may well be of significance in occasioning less participation in certain types of burglary, robbery, and aggravated assault, for which the physical make-up of the male criminal is better suited. And there is no mention given, as possibly conducing to less female than male crime, to the fact that their unique socio-biological status and role may endow women with a relatively-larger vested interest in security and social stability. It is they who are in most danger (physically, economically, etc.) through a situation of social disorganization and crime. Agencies of social control are supported extensively by our female "guardians of the mores."

It is debatable, also, whether age brings the woman relatively greater opportunities for crime. (p. 104) Certainly her capacity for economically-successful prostitution, a major female crime, begins to decline while she is still relatively young.

The book, moreover, adheres to a strictly legalistic approach to crime, and thus to the sex differential in particular crimes. It does not take into account such phenomena as the growing numbers of male prostitutes and "kept men," since prostitution statutorily can only be committed by women.

Pollak's study has important implications in

view of the demographic trend towards a surplus of women throughout Western civilization, and the growing economic, political, and other opportunities for this sex. Probably women will figure more prominently in "big-money" crime in corporations, organized rackets, and government as their power and status rise. And police, district attorneys, judges, and juries (whose traditional chivalry towards female criminals is well-demonstrated by Pollak) may show less leniency towards the female offender as women compete more freely and openly with men, thus raising the recorded criminality of women. At any event, Pollak has provided a solid foundation for future research on the female criminal.

JOSEPH H. GREENBERG

*University of Colorado.*

*The Age of Faith: A History of Medieval Civilization—Christian, Islamic, and Judaic—from Constantine to Dante: A.D. 325–1300.* By WILL DURANT. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1950. xviii, 1196 pp. \$7.50.

One of the most marked trends in sociological writing in the present generation has been the decline of interest in historical factors in society, a decline which has almost reached the point of indifference to historical perspective with relation to the society and culture of our time.

This stands in marked contrast to the situation in my student days, when social history and historical sociology occupied a prominent position in sociological analysis and exposition. A generation before this, the history of society, encouraged by evolutionary doctrines, was a primary concern of the outstanding sociological writers. If sociologists show any interest in history today, it is aroused chiefly by grandiose interpretations of social development, such as those by Spengler, Sorokin, and Toynbee.

This fading out of sociological interest in history is the more surprising in the light of the growing emphasis in sociological circles on culture as the raw material of sociological analysis and interpretation. It would appear obvious that no aspect of culture or society can be fully understood or intelligently evaluated without a decent comprehension of its genesis and development. Hence, a book like that by Durant is of prime value to the sociologist; indeed, of much more utility than questionable, if impressive, efforts to reduce the story of the human past to formulae, patterns, and broad generalizations.

Durant's ambitious program of writing a complete history of civilization in six large volumes

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has not even received the attention it deserves from historians, because Durant is not formally a member of the gild. Yet, it is probably true that not one professional historian in a hundred has the equipment in knowledge and perspective for such a task that Durant possesses, with his well-known mastery of the history of philosophy, religion, thought, and aesthetics. Certainly no professional American historian has thus far turned out as comprehensive and impressive an account of the growth of civilization as has Durant.

*The Age of Faith* is the fourth volume of this monumental performance. The earlier volumes were *Our Oriental Heritage*, including an account of primitive society which could serve as an introduction to social anthropology; *The Life of Greece*; and *Caesar and Christ*, the latter bringing the story down through the Roman era. The present volume is a comprehensive survey of medieval society, life and culture, from the fourth to the fourteenth century. It presents not only a broad picture of Christian society and culture but also a generous account of Islamic and Judaic civilization. It is as reliable, factually, as the average manual on the period written by professional historians, is far more interesting reading than such books, and gives a far wider coverage of intellectual and cultural developments.

Durant leads off in the first section of the book with an account of the foundation of the Eastern Empire by Constantine, the entry of the Germanic peoples into the Empire, the rise and triumph of Christianity, and the impressive Byzantine civilization of the age of Justinian. Next come two sections on the civilization of the Muslims and the Jews during the Middle Ages, a commendable departure from the usual practice of limiting medieval history mainly to Christian countries and achievements. The political and religious development in the so-called Dark Ages (566-1095) is next treated, culminating in a brief but component account of feudal society and the age of chivalry. The longest portion of the volume—nearly half of the book—is devoted to medieval Christian civilization at its height from 1100 to 1300. Quite properly, the Christian Church, its ideas and practices, are made the core of the interpretation of political, economic, social, intellectual and artistic life, but there are excellent chapters on the economic developments following the Crusades, medieval social life and morals, and the intellectual trends of the era.

For the sociologist, the most valuable chapters are probably those on the triumph of Christianity (III); feudal society (XXII); medieval economic life (XXIV); social life and morals (XXX); and medieval ideas and scientific achievements (XXXVI-XXXVII). But the book as a whole provides much information and insight on the genesis of many of our present traits and problems, all the way from birth control to academic ritual, and it amply proves that Clio can still throw quite as much light upon social affairs and problems as can calculus.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

Cooperstown, N. Y.

*Social Philosophies of an Age of Crisis*. By  
PITIRIM A. SOROKIN. Boston: The Beacon  
Press, 1950. xi, 345 pp. \$4.00.

Who reads Sorokin? Whatever the answer to that question, sociologists generally are not included in the attentive group. To be sure *Social Mobility* and *Contemporary Sociological Theories* are frequently cited by sociologists and are used by them in teaching and research. But the *Dynamics* and all its progeny, among which can be included the book under review, are lost in sociological limbo. They are no longer even criticized, simply ignored. The present work offers a ground on the basis of which we can get some idea of why Sorokin now finds himself at the far edge of sociological endeavor.

The superficial reasons are easily discerned. Sorokin is now a philosopher of history. This is a book about other philosophers of history. Here are found all the weaknesses to which such speculative activity is prone: inadequate categories, vagueness of concept, inability to verify hypotheses, bias against the sensate culture, evaluation of others by their agreement or disagreement with one's own position, over-sensitivity to criticism, and argument by illustration. It is possible to wonder, on the basis of this book, whether Sorokin is as guilty of these offenses against the scientific canon as he has been charged with being. The discussion of cultural systems and their causal-meaningful unity no longer seems so strange in the light of contemporary functional theory. His distinction between systems and conglomerates seems to offer a basis for fruitful modification of the *a priori* imputation of social and cultural integration in such theory. The theory of trendless flux is much more flexible than the more grandiose speculations of Spengler and Toynbee whose ideas are examined in the book. Yet it is probable that the

criticisms which have been made are valid. What is important is that they must be made; Sorokin must not be ignored.

To ignore the contemporary philosophers of history is to risk the loss of our sociological souls, because, in the right or wrong fashion they are grappling with the essential problem of the moral and practical significance of social science in our contemporary society. "In times of crisis one should expect an upsurge of cogitation on and study of the how and why, the whence and whether, of man, society, and humanity." (p. 30) Certainly our society is in such a stage of crisis. We are faced with the problem of determining whether or not a society based on a value system which exalts the individual human being—a value system which has never been completely realized in actual social organization—can endure and move further in the direction of manifesting its values in social life. On the basis of historical evidence, however inadequate, most of the philosophers of history with whom this book is concerned, including Sorokin, have reached a negative answer. Individualism is itself regarded as symptomatic of the decay of modern society. Despite the historical fatalism which most of them proclaim, there seems to be a voluntaristic element involving the idea that knowledge of the nature of society and culture may make possible a gentler transition to a more organic unfree society. Even Sorokin is conducting research into the conditions and possibilities of altruistic love.

Whatever the validity of the historical evidence and whatever the merit of cyclical fatalism, the picture of modern society which these men present has tremendous relevance. Atomization, fragmentation, alienation, bureaucratization, terror, the loss of human choice—all are the realities of our time. We need to know if these phenomena are the inevitable result of attempting to organize a society on a basis of individual freedom and dignity, or if there can be a viable social order in which arbitrary authority, coercion, and the violation of the human being are at a minimum. The predictions of the philosophers of history are conservative, whatever may be their own value preferences. We must accept these predictions or show that a sociology of possibility, unbound by the uniformities of the past although recognizing their significance, can find conditions in which freedom and order are not incompatible, and where stress on the person does not result in atomization and anomie.

These considerations reveal the more funda-

mental reason why Sorokin is ignored today. Sociologists as professional men are not concerned with these problems. The mistaken use of Weber's dictum of no value judgments, the pressure of the sources of research funds, and perhaps a deeply rooted sense of despair conspire at the level of applied social research to confine the social scientist to problems which accept the present social order and its movement as a given, thus closing the door to the development of a sociology of possibility. At the theoretical level, as Reinhard Bendix has shown in a recent issue of *Commentary*, the image of man conceptually developed renders a value-system based on human dignity and reason utterly irrelevant. Thus why read Sorokin; why even bother to criticize him?

Contemporary social science is profoundly symptomatic of what the philosophers of history regard as the decline of our society. Its scientific concentration on human manipulation represents an extreme form of the reduction of the human being to pure object. Sorokin is predicting our role in the future, and we do our best to make him right. But actually the choice is ours. There can be a sociology of possibility, although its findings *may* prove the human dream an illusion. To develop this science, though, we must return to a consideration of the basic problems, the whence and whither of man, society, and humanity: the conditions of various types of social organization; the status and function of reason and values in social life; the possibilities of human choice and human dignity. If we make such a return, Sorokin will again become a central figure, even though it be as the representative of an opposition hypothesis. Dare we ignore him now?

WILLIAM L. KOLB  
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*The Open Society and Its Enemies.* By KARL R. POPPER. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950. xii, 732 pp. \$7.50.

This is a provocative and baffling book, valuable in fresh suggestion for scholars with a thorough knowledge of Plato, Hegel, and Marx. Popper's three chief protagonists, but largely misleading for others.

The enemies which Popper attacks are any hypotheses in regard to historical development which might lead to laws of history and enable us, within even the widest limits, to predict anything about the future. He charges in so many directions that he demolishes some of his own

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positions. For example, he says that, although "history has no meaning," men can give a meaning to history; but he does not explain how history can be any guide to intelligent action if there are no reliable sequences in social behavior. He says that although there are no laws in history, there are causal connections between specific events; but he fails to explain where causal connections stop and lawless history resumes. He repudiates the "nothing but" type of thinking, but makes use of it when he says that a theory which includes genetic analysis is "nothing but" genetic analysis.

The chief villain for Popper is Hegel. He goes out of his way to denounce Hegel as a charlatan and makes no attempt to understand Hegel's thought. He relies chiefly on *The Philosophy of Law*, the most reactionary of Hegel's writings, and does not mention the much more important *Phenomenology of Mind*. He accepts the common misinterpretation of "only the rational is real" and misses entirely its meaning that only that which has actualized its potentialities is fully real. He forces Hegel's treatment of subject and object into a semantic dichotomy which loses the whole point of Hegel's discussion. He makes no attempt to distinguish the very different meanings which "opposites" had for Plato, for Hegel, and for Marx, and he gives a superficial distortion of Hegel's dialectic. Popper dismisses the work of both Hegel and Aristotle as an "intelligence-destroying influence."

Plato appears as somewhat less malign than Hegel. With much of Popper's criticism—of Plato's hostility to change, to democratic values, and to empiricism and of his reliance on authoritarianism and other-worldliness—we may agree. But this is not all of Plato. Popper appears to read Plato not so much to discover any truth that may be in him as to seize upon, in support of his own thesis, Platonic theories particularly open to attack.

The treatment of Marx is more adequate. Popper believes that "a return to pre-Marxian social science is inconceivable." He makes some important corrections of popular misconceptions of Marx: the "claim that Marx does not recognize anything beyond the 'lower' or 'material' aspects of human life is an especially ridiculous distortion"; Marx's "sole aim" was to "open the way into that non-materialist kingdom of freedom for all men alike"; "Marx conceived of socialism as a period when we are largely free from the irrational forces that now determine

our life, and in which human reason can actively control human affairs." Marx, like the others, however, is condemned for his "historicism," his belief that it is possible to discover laws in the processes of history.

Some of the most valuable passages in *The Open Society* are its digressions. Discussions of the hollowness inherent in Aristotle's method of definition and of the loose thinking involved in Arnold J. Toynbee's anti-rationalism are excellent.

The most serious defect of the book is that it evades the important question it raises: It criticizes the verbalism of Aristotle and Toynbee but remains in the realm of verbal solutions. It denounces "historicism" but gives no proposal for more adequate historical method. It attacks "determinism" and goes over to a wholesale indeterminism which would make completely impossible the "piecemeal social engineering" Popper advocates. It makes no attempt to show how the scientific study of specific events and of developmental sequences can be related.

Why could not the American publishers of this book make use of the light two-volume format of the English edition? This ponderous volume is about as convenient to handle or to carry in a brief bag as the *Century Dictionary*.

HELEN MERRELL LYND

Sarah Lawrence College

*The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character.* By DAVID RIESMAN in collaboration with RUEL DENNEY and NATHAN GLAZER. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950. xxvii, 386 pp. \$4.00.

Character is socially conditioned behavior and is related to the rate of population growth. High potential growth produces tradition-directed character; transitional growth, inner-directed; incipient decline, other-directed. The first is folk personality; the second is the internalization of the elders' goals; the third depends on "peer group" approval. This term, like many other neologisms in the book, is not defined rigorously or used consistently. It often refers to categories rather than to own-age groups.

Later publication is promised for the empirical data on which this book is said to be based. Few data are given. Riesman emphasizes that no character is ever wholly traditional, inner-, or other-directed: these are "ideal-types." It is asserted that a man or a society may be "dominated" by one of the character types but no criteria are given for telling when this is so.

After the necessary reservations are made, the "ideal type" becomes a number of hypotheses, many of which can never be tested empirically. I suspect "ideal-types" appeal to people who are more artistic than scientific.

The book deals mainly with character development in the middle class, that now popular but still vague concept. Are the middle classes of all cultures the same? Does the transitional part of the S-curve always produce inner-directed character? Are inner and other-directed character the same in *all* societies? Does the birth-death ratio produce these "characters," if it can be shown that they really "dominate" the indicated portion of the S-curve, or is it the effect of vertical and horizontal mobility mediated by ideology and technology? Here I omit another paragraph of similar questions that must be answered *scientifically* before the thesis can be taken seriously.

However, the character types may exist even though they are not determined by the population curve. Riesman says (p. 52) the T-D's bow to parents and propitiate them; the I-D's fight with parents or succumb to them; the O-D's manipulate parents or are manipulated by them. The same relations tend to characterize relations between children and other adults who influence them. The book is mainly a contrast between I-D's and O-D's in work, play, and politics, with some attention to education.

Riesman should remember that in 1850 children were beaten, frightened, threatened, wheedled, and praised—as they still are. Before categoric statements are made about "changes" in the treatment of children, accurate data for 1850 and 1950 must be compared scientifically. Since there is not much accurate 1850 information, there can be only dubious guessing based largely on literary sources. It may be true that children are "reasoned with" more in 1950 than was true in 1850, and may be beaten less. Whether they are threatened and frightened less is an open question, though we may use "germs" and "what people say" instead of God and the Devil. Children may have been "dominated by their peers"—if this means own-age groups—*more* in 1850 than in 1950. The "under-world of childhood" is not a new idea to anyone who can remember his own youth. In my youth—a very rural, backwoods, "folk" youth—what the "gang" thought was much more important than what parents, teachers, or God thought.

The style annoys me. What at first seems sig-

nificant often turns out to be merely clever. Figurative language, polaric dichotomies, dramatic contrasts, headline captions, etc., are confusing: e.g. "Just as it is often more important what parents *are* than what they intend to do, so it is often more important what the comic strip *is* as an art object than what it *seems to say* as a message" (p. 37). To me, this "seems to say," "Non-sequitur, sir!" and to be based on some transcendental conception of the "is-ness" of parents and art objects beyond what actually can be observed.

Again, p. 196, "His [the inner-directed's] politics, like his character, becomes *curdled* when lack of success reveals and renders intolerable his lack of understanding." Riesman is partial to "curdled" in many connotations; he loves "inside-dopesters," people's "gyroscopes" and "radars"; uses terms like "consumption" in several senses; and uses phrases like "taste-exchangers," the "piety of print," etc. Page 219, "Since he does not know how . . . the virus of indignation may be received, he must be preoccupied with the antibodies of tolerance." This may be poetry; it is not scientific writing.

Often he turns a phrase which makes you think 'here is a new idea,' e.g. "They [the mass media] announce a world's crisis and a tooth-paste in the same breathless voice." (p. 212) This is striking till you blink the scintillant verbiage out of your mind and see that the idea is as old as Veblen, or Cooley, or older. It is not news that some men enjoy their work and "work" at their play. They were doing it in 1850 and probably in 1850 B. C.; probably it is as true of inner- as of other-directed men—if these are really distinctive personality types.

He does not convince me that we are more like the Zuñi than the Kwakiutl. (Chap. XIII) Such statements seem as pointless as saying apple pie is more like mince pie than custard—or vice versa. In my opinion, comparing simple societies with industrial ones on the basis of the impressions of one or a few observers who have done a few months "field-work" there, comes close to scientific quackery. Such pseudo-science is rife these days.

His autonomous, anomic, and adjusted men (Part III) seem very similar to W. I. Thomas' creative, bohemian, and philistine men, though Thomas is not mentioned in this connection.

I may have done an injustice to the book by emphasizing what seem to me some of its weak points. Needless to say, it has many good points. It is interesting, easy to read, and sometimes

stimulating. It is beautifully printed. Most sociologists have long been familiar with most of its ideas and some probably will be annoyed by the neologicistic, unsociological manner in which they are presented. The book is long on assertions, though with many caveats and saving phrases; it is short on facts and critical analysis.

Perhaps these defects will be remedied when the empirical research is published; or perhaps Riesman was writing for the general public, not for sociologists. If so, I fear the general public will also be wondering at times just what he is driving at.

READ BAIN

*Miami University, Oxford, Ohio*

*Through Values to Social Interpretation: Essays on Social Contexts, Actions, Types, and Prospects.* By HOWARD BECKER. Durham: Duke University Press, 1950. xviii, 341 pp. \$4.50.

This book brings together six essays by Howard Becker, all of which have appeared elsewhere in full or in abridged form. Previously published over a period of several years and containing a diversity of subject-matter, they nevertheless show a unity of thought, style, and problem approach. Since it is a collection of essays, the book does not proceed to develop its themes step by step, but is repetitive, sometimes, but not always, unavoidably so.

The approach is polemical. Various points of view are attacked, and alternatives are offered. Becker opposes anti-theoretical positions, narrow positivism, idiographic approaches such as are sometimes found in history and cultural anthropology—the desire, that is, to present an historical event or a culture “as it actually and peculiarly was,” large-scale theories of social change, whether evolutionary or cyclical, and beliefs in the actual or desirable total value-neutrality of the scientist. As remedies, Becker sets forth the following: that theory is essential to analysis, that any adequate theory of human conduct must consider man as a valuing animal and utilize man’s values in the analysis of his behavior, that the constructed type (similar to Weber’s ideal type) permits us to analyze significant similarities and differences among social phenomena which differ one from another concretely, that the constructed type can be used effectively for the analysis of small-scale problems in social change, and that the scientist necessarily has values—both the value position that science is “good” and a multitude of other

values related to the various roles that he occupies in addition to that of scientist. Agreeing that scientific statements do not yield ultimate value judgments, Becker says that scientists as human beings can practice “value polytheism” without corrupting the impartiality of their purely scientific work. With all of these points the reviewer is in essential agreement.

The core of the work is Becker’s treatment of the utility of the constructed type. He deals with the relationship between the initial hypothesis and the constructed type designed as a tool to yield an answer to that hypothesis, and the relationship between the constructed type and the phenomena to which it is applied. He considers the “negative utility” of the constructed type: its use not only to order and explain relationships in cases where (at the level concerned) the data do conform to the type, but also to explore systematically the differences between what is “expected” and what is empirically found. Becker states that his constructed type differs from Weber’s ideal type in that his own types must be “objectively probable,” rather than objectively possible. He expresses a hope that proper use of constructed types will yield statements the validation of which is subject to quantitative treatment.

As examples of the use of constructive typology Becker presents a brief analysis of attitudes toward “marginal trading people” like the Jews at certain times and the Chinese merchant outside China, an interesting analysis of the German youth movement, more extensively treated in his *German Youth: Bond or Free*, and a typology of societies based on a sacred-secular division and developed with much ingenuity. Sacred societies are divided into folk (by and large simple non-literate and some peasant societies) and prescribed (in general authoritarian societies such as Incaic, Japanese, early Calvinist, and modern Fascist and Communist). Secular societies are similarly divided into principled (well integrated rational-legal societies in the main) and normless. Typical sorts of disorganization and conditions for change are discussed. Each type is further subdivided. This typology seems less Procrustean, more flexible and more useful for classificatory purposes than a “folk-urban” dichotomy, or than many of the other similar systems that lie behind Becker’s effort. It seems less likely to make strange bedfellows than do other systems. It should be noted that Becker explicitly states that we may find secular societies in rural, or even non-literate

groups, citing as a thoroughly legitimate example the Comanche.

There are, of course, criticisms that can be made of this typology, as well as of other general ideas presented and of various definitions and their implications. But certain rather general criticisms seem more important. Those who accept Becker's general point of view will be disappointed that so much space, relatively speaking, is given to polemics and exhortation, and so little to the development of a number of interesting positive points. Becker deals only briefly with his reasons for preferring "constructed types" to Weber's "ideal types." More important, he gives little attention to the question of what are the elements from which a type is built. What is the relative utility of part concepts versus analytical variables for constructing a type? Can two types such as folk-sacred and principled-secular be compared only in their totalities, or point by point? If the latter, what are the elements to be used in the comparison? In Becker's work they seem to be part concepts, but this question and the question of comparison are not given systematic attention. Furthermore, hidden in the type concepts of the various sorts of sacred and secular societies are many implicit analytical variables, such as the structure of authority and of communication. Much scientific progress has occurred through breaking down a type concept into its component analytical variables, and attention to the possibility of doing so in this instance would enhance the value of the work.

Lastly, most of Becker's illustrations involve typology of value-systems, which are explicitly and clearly linked to a theory of social action, implicitly linked to role concepts, but almost not at all related to a general theory of the nature of social systems. But if a type is to be "objectively probable," it should be proved to be so by reference to a theory of social systems which will tell us whether the elements of the type can, in fact, co-exist, and whether they and they alone exhaust the aspects of the phenomenon relevant to the problem at hand.

These criticisms, however, express a hope for further developments along these lines, not a denial of the positive contributions of the book. Those who, like the reviewer, accept Becker's general approach in this book, will find much that is useful, much that is tantalizing because incompletely developed, and much that is interesting and stimulating.

DAVID F. ABERLE

*The Johns Hopkins University*

*Beiträge zur Gesellschafts- und Völkerwissenschaft: Professor Dr. Richard Thurnwald zu seinem achtzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet.* Edited by ILSE TÖNNIES. Berlin, Germany: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1950. 477 pp. D.M. 25.—

Few scholars have more seriously than Richard Thurnwald attempted to carry into practical realization the alleged unity of the social sciences. It is very fitting, therefore, that this scholar be honored with a collection of essays like the one published in the present volume. Introduced by a short biography by Hilde Thurnwald, with a survey of Dr. Thurnwald's basic anthropological theories, and concluded by an inclusive Thurnwald bibliography, this collection presents 31 contributions by European, American, and other scholars from a wide variety of branches within the general field of *Völkerkunde* in Thurnwald's broad sense of the word. The essays include topics from the fields of psychology, sociology, mythology, art, literature, linguistics, and other branches of cultural anthropology as well as discussions of problems in social philosophy, theory, and methodology. Here is pure as well as applied anthropology, based on material from practically all parts of the world, including archaic, historical, and modern societies.

While this essay collection certainly gives a good impression of the multifarious character of modern anthropology, at the same time it reveals clearly much of the confusion and lack of integration that still is found in the Science of Man. Not only do the articles vary greatly in quality; they also represent highly divergent points of view that partly conflict because they are presented with a one-sided emphasis, thus serving disintegration rather than integration. The impression of confusion is augmented by the fact that no attempt has been made to arrange the articles in a systematic way.

The contrast between the Continental European idealism and the Anglo-American empiricism is brought into a sharp relief by comparing the articles by Wolfram Kurth and Wilhelm Lange-Eichbaum on the one hand and Douglas G. Haring on the other.

"Idealism" is a despised word in American thinking. However, in Continental Europe, particularly in Germany and France, a systematic cultural anthropology developed largely on the basis of a purely "ideal" interest in the so-called primitive peoples. The focus of the interest is upon the *original* forms of culture, and the final goal is the *understanding* of the primitive man

who, after all, is our own close relative, only "less developed" and untainted by a confusing civilization. This is the basic theme of the two articles by Kurth and Lange-Eichbaum, both of them psychiatrists by profession. Lange-Eichbaum's article, "Urtümliches Erleben und Denken," gives a brief description of the logic of the emotional associative thinking of primitive man as contrasted to the intellectual analytical thinking of Western civilization and intimates that a conflict of these two ways of apprehension in modern man may be the basis of serious mental disturbances. This idea is further developed in Kurth's article, "Neurose als Abbild des Seelischen in ethnologischer Sicht," which is an appraisal of the contributions of ethnology to psychiatry. Both articles build heavily on earlier works of Lévy-Bruhl, Thurnwald, and Freud and do not bring any original contributions. Besides, they show clearly some of the conspicuous weaknesses of the old romantic and somewhat speculative ethnology which too easily ends up in an introspective subjectivism and a fallacious reification of vaguely defined concepts.

Turning from these articles to Haring is like entering another world—but not necessarily a better one. His article "The Social Sciences and Biology" represents the Anglo-Saxon mind and its undoubtedly sound reaction against the fallacies of a speculative, idealistic ethno-sociology. However, he does not reach beyond the negativisms of a one-sided empiricism which has hampered American social research ever since the movement started in the early twenties. Characteristic is his pre-occupation with "overt behavior" as the only verifiable facts and his rejection of such "super-individual" concepts as "culture," "society," "institution." This is symptomatic of the greatest weakness of American sociology, the rejection in the name of "objectivity" of any conceptual framework that could lend a more than statistical significance to the observed facts. It is due partly to the same weakness that a behaviorist like Haring is apparently unable to distinguish clearly between a "behavior" and a "pattern"—the latter is precisely a social, i.e. "super-individual," fact. It is also characteristic of his negative attitude towards "theory" that he makes no distinction between an operational theoretical concept, like "culture," "society," etc., and popular beliefs and ideologies, e.g. the eugenicist's belief in racial purity, but throws them all into the same garbage can.

However, such shortcomings in some of the contributions are more than outweighed by a series of articles in cultural anthropology and sociological theory which may be read with great advantage by a sociologist. Outstanding among the latter is Müller-Freienfels' article "Zur Psychologie und Soziologie der Schrift," which offers an excellent conceptualization of the art of writing as a socio-cultural phenomenon and demonstrates its importance for the transformation of society into a stable, institutional, and rational structure (cf. Redfield's insistence on illiteracy as a criterion for his "folk-society"). A closely related subject is dealt with, but from another angle, by Vierkandt in "Vom Wesen des Gesprächs und seinen Entartungen," a typical piece of "philosophical sociology" in Vierkandt's sense, kept on a high level of abstraction and expressed in subjectivistic terms that come perilously close to a normative philosophy.

The problem of culture change and acculturation as applied to African peoples is discussed in two articles by Günter Wagner and F. Rudolph Lehmann (of South Africa). Wagner's "Lässt sich die Richtung von Kulturwandel voraussagen?" offers a critique of Malinowski's functionalistic approach and advocates a psychological approach with emphasis on the irrational factors. Lehmann's "Einige Spannungs- und Ausgleichsercheinungen in der sozialen Organisation mittel- und südwestafrikanischer Völker" discusses conflicts between patriarchal and matriarchal organizations from the point of view of integration—disintegration—reintegration of cultures.

A few other articles are also of particular interest to sociologists, e.g. Hildegard Feick, "Die Buchenland-Siedelungsgenossenschaft in Darmstadt" (resettlement of refugees), Max Graf Solms, "Persönlichkeitsentfaltung und Erziehung auf solidaristischer Grundlage," (discusses collectivism vs. individualism on the basis of an idealistic concept of "personality"), and Laura Thompson, "Operational Anthropology as an Emergent Discipline." Mention should also be made of Toni Wolff's penetrating presentation of C. G. Jung's interesting and important concept of the ideological "archetype" as the universal basis for myth formation.

On the whole, the volume has much to offer to the sociologist—both good and bad, but highly suggestive and thought-compelling.

PETER A. MUNCH

St. Olaf College

*Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture.* By J. HUIZINGA. New York: Roy Publishers, 1950. x, 220 pp. \$3.50.

In 1914 I published "The Sociology of Recreation" (*American Journal of Sociology*: XIX, pp. 825-834) in which I pointed out that, although American culture of that period looked upon play as characteristic of children and unworthy of adults, it had been from time immemorial the fundamental feature of historical pageants, May Day festivities, fairs, marriages, dances, celebrations, and rituals of all kinds. After surveying several authors who had written on the psychology of play—Herbert Spencer, Karl Gross, G. T. W. Patrick, and Addington Bruse—I suggested that play is rooted in the emotions because it lessens certain emotional tensions. All the evidence at hand seemed to bear out the thesis that the emotional pleasure it produced is dependent on the activities of a group of players or the vicarious participation of a group of spectators. Even the solitary player has present an imaginary group. That is the fundamental fact in the sociology of play.

Professor Huizinga, now deceased, was once Professor of History at the University of Leyden, given honorary degrees by several universities in Europe, including Oxford, and for some years was connected with one of the important committees of the League of Nations. In this book he has done a much more thorough job than I in the article cited. He emphasizes the use of words in the languages of a variety of peoples which are the equivalents of our word "play." He also cites their applications of such words to their rituals and ceremonies, some of which at first glance seem far removed from joyous abandon of children's play. He defines play as "a voluntary activity or occupation executed within certain fixed limits of time and place, according to rules freely accepted but absolutely binding, having as its aim in itself

and accompanied by a feeling of tension, joy and the consciousness that it is 'different' from 'ordinary life'." (p. 28)

He relates such activities to civilizing functions and institutions that mark what we call civilized societies, pointing out that they play their part not only in shaping primitive institutions, but pass over into and determine the forms of civilized institutions in their greater number and more varied functions. He shows how the play activities are related to law, war, the growth of knowledge, myth, philosophy, and all forms of art. He finds it most easy to identify the play motive in the ancient and the mediaeval civilizations, but indicates that in spite of the impact of an industrial civilization on institutional forms and functions play still operates in the various institutions of industrialized countries.

As one reads the book he is impressed with the difficulty the author has met in identifying the play-element as the fundamental factor in giving shape to cultural institutions, especially in those societies most effected by industry and science. He faces those difficulties frankly. He contends that play did not develop out of culture, but on the contrary culture developed in response to the emotional satisfaction derived from the play activities associated with the institution. He ascribes political and cultural decadence to the substitution of other rewards, or consequences than the satisfaction derived from the play *motif* in the activities of a people. The bread and circuses of the Roman Empire were not play. Commercialized sports are no longer "play." About some of these subsidiary theories one wonders. Certainly the rooters at a football game get the emotional thrill which our author ascribes to "play." But on the whole the book is very stimulating.

JOHN L. GILLIN

*University of Wisconsin*

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GILLIN

## BOOK NOTES

*Chamanisme et Guérison Magique.* By MARCELLE BOUTEILLER. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France (Bibliothèque de Philosophie Contemporaine) 1950. 337 pp. 700 fr.

Dr. Bouteiller, a member of the staff of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, has made an extensive study of the shamans of the North American Indian, in order to compare them with contemporary faith healers in rural France. This volume, her doctoral thesis, considers shaman and faith healer from a strictly limited viewpoint. The acquisition of their healing gifts, the ceremonies used, and their status in the group are considered entirely in terms of their special rapport with supernatural powers. A number of parallels appear between these widely separated specialists, including a reliance on the magic properties of fire, water, the breath, and the dawn. Both also enjoy the complete confidence of their clients, which, Dr. Bouteiller believes, is the real basis for whatever success they achieve.

The emphasis throughout is on the shaman as a role rather than as an effective practitioner, and no attempt is made to explain his frequent successes in naturalistic terms. This gives the volume an air of unreality, supernatural beings and powers being taken for granted. The study largely ignores the growing body of evidence of the practical and empiric value of much of the shaman's treatment.

The volume will be of interest to American scholars primarily for the discussion of French faith healers and their relation to the Roman Catholic Church. The bibliography is extensive, and opens up some new source material, including a number of medical and veterinary theses from French universities.—ELIZABETH A. FERGUSON

*The Mental Health Program of the Forty-Eight States: A Report of the Governors' Conference.* Prepared by the COUNCIL OF STATE GOVERNMENTS. Chicago: Council of State Governments, 1950. x, 377 pp. \$4.00.

A comprehensive survey made in 1949 of the organization, administration, and operation of state programs for the care and treatment of the mentally ill. It concentrates on the presentation of facts that will impress legislators, administra-

tors, and the interested public. It gets away from the provincialism and dullness of the routine state report. Instead it gives us a vivid national picture.

The report of hospital conditions, equipment, finances, personnel, and the medical, psychological, and legal care of patients combines the results of detailed schedules prepared under the direction of the governors of the 48 states. Specific recommendations for the improvement of facilities, standards, and practices are made. For the most part, they are documented by considerable evidence.

The study is written primarily from an administrative and medical point of view. The contributions of sociology have been little used. In the all too generalized section on research, the social and psychological aspects of mental health are not even mentioned. As a reference work on some aspects of mental health, however, the book will be found useful.—JOSEPH W. EATON

*The Aged and Society.* Prepared by the INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS RESEARCH ASSOCIATION. Champaign, Ill.: Twin City Printing Company, 1950. vii, 237 pp. \$3.00.

Fourteen papers from economics, medicine, political science, psychology, and sociology are contained in this excellent symposium on the problems of the aged and aging in modern urban-industrial society. Despite the variety of contributions, the volume is well integrated around the following topical framework: (1) the new age distribution in Western society; (2) the status of older workers in our economy and current provisions for the retired worker; and (3) present and prospective research on problems of the aged. To the sociologist the more significant themes treated include the absence of a definite place for the aged in our social structure; the necessity for consideration of social needs of the aged in planning for their financial and medical care; the failure of retirement plan rules to cope with individual differences among categories of chronological, physiological, psychological, and sociological age; and the need for clearer understanding of group variations in sex, marital status, ethnic and class association as bases for both research and

practical programs. This volume should be useful not only as a text and reference in the social sciences, but also as a handbook for management, union representatives, and administrative officials.—JEROME K. MYERS

*Group Process in Administration* (Revised edition). By HARLEIGH B. TRECKER. New York: Woman's Press, 1950. xv, 330 pp. \$4.50.

Designed for administration courses in schools of social work and as an aid to practitioners, this text is written from the point of view of the administrator of a social agency. It is an addition to the material on the sociology of the profession. The revision, as the author states in his preface, ". . . is essentially an expansion of the fundamental hypotheses expressed in the original volume. The earlier chapters have been retained and in some cases they have been divided so that appropriate material could be added. A considerable amount of illustrative material has been added in an effort to give practical application to the principles of administration. . . . The figures included in this edition did not appear in the first edition."

The author's addition of case materials is a useful change, but a more extended discussion of each case record would be helpful. The methods he proposes—"democratic" social agencies being considered desirable—are limited generally to measures for increasing the verbal channels of the status systems. The author does not distinguish group processes at work in the social organization of group work agency from those of a case work agency. There is a bibliography but no index.—RICHARD M. SEAMAN

*Social Disorganization* (Third Edition). By MABEL A. ELLIOTT and FRANCIS E. MERRILL. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950. xiv, 748 pp. \$4.50.

Effectively shorter by 300 pages than its predecessor, this present edition has, nevertheless, succeeded in incorporating new data and research findings as well as three new chapters on racial and religious minorities and totalitarianism. Yet it maintains essentially the same theory and organization involved in the 2nd edition.

Viewed as a many-faceted consequence of social change, social disorganization is distinguished conceptually from social organization with the aid of the notion of consensus, Ogburn's culture lag thesis, Park's and Burgess's

social processes, and Thomas's attitudes, values, and crisis. The only innovation is the inclusion of a conception of social structure embodying certain of Linton's views on role and status.

Certain methodological strictures may be levelled against the organization of the contents: (1) it subordinates the empirical data to the basic concepts of social organization and disorganization so that their theoretical implications are mirrored throughout the book as unchecked premises; (2) it contributes to the confusion over the questions of how certain social phenomena arise and persist and how these come to be viewed as social problems or symptoms of social disorganization; and (3) it does not indicate the crucial role of the context of values in defining social problems and their resultant cultural relativity.—ROSCOE C. HINKLE

*Industry's Unfinished Business: Achieving Sound Industrial Relations and Fair Employment*. By SARA E. SOUTHALL. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950. xviii, 173 pp. \$2.50.

A practitioner in the field of labor-industry relations here challenges industry to take a definite stand in favor of non-discriminatory employment practices. Miss Southall reports on her years of experience as adviser in personnel relations with the International Harvester Company and as a member of the Fair Employment Practices Commission. The author recognizes and describes undemocratic practices in employment with an admirable straightforwardness. For her, "any economic system to be really successful must be dynamic, must concern itself not alone with changing methods of production and with raising the standard of living of the masses but with satisfying the deeper needs of the human beings who are part of it." (p. xvii) It is her considered opinion that discrimination in employment and upgrading is another prerogative that must be abandoned. It is both foolish and dangerous to exclude large segments of the population from the opportunities of the economic system. By doing so industry cuts itself off from a source of labor supply that may be badly needed in the future. Further, it encourages chaos, for groups which are denied opportunity might cry out, with considerable reason, "We are outside the system. Let's get a new one!" (pp. 56-57)

Miss Southall's book does respond to a widely felt need, but it is not specific enough to serve as a guide for managers interested in changing dis-

crimatory practices. How best to deal with the problems which will or may accompany attempts toward change? How overcome the resentfulness of managers whose reasoning against such changes is rarely realistic but nevertheless effective? The special value of the book lies in its frank treatment of the problem of discrimination and the responsibility of industrial management for finding a solution.—  
MAX WOLFF

*General Economic History.* By MAX WEBER (Translated by FRANK H. KNIGHT). Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1951. xviii, 401 pp. \$4.50.

This is a welcome and much needed reprint of Max Weber's classic survey of economic history. Professor Knight's able translation first appeared in 1927.

Weber's volume is not a systematic manual on the economic history of the Western world. Rather, it is a series of essay-chapters on those phases of economic history which most interested Weber, and in which he was most at home.

Yet the book does cover most of the important aspects of economic history down to the Industrial Revolution and is an invaluable supplement to the conventional textbooks for the periods covered. The material is characterized by a broad sociological and historical perspective which is lacking in most economic histories that are written by professional economists.

Weber first treats agricultural history and society from tribal times down through the manorial period. He then deals with commercial institutions and activities to the Commercial Revolution. The concluding chapters handle the problem of the nature and evolution of early capitalism. It is only in the last three chapters that we come to the interpretations and analysis which we customarily associate with the work of Weber. Here he considers the rise of the rational state and citizen, and the development of the spirit of capitalism, with its strong religious basis. Incidentally, Weber rejects the prominent role assigned to the Jews by Werner Sombart in the origins of modern capitalism.—HARRY ELMER BARNES

## PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

(Listing of a publication below does not preclude its subsequent review)

ALLWOOD, MARTIN S. (Editor). In collaboration with PIERRE BESSAINET and LINDSAY LAFFORD. *Studies in Mass Communication: 1950-1951*. Geneva, N. Y.: Hobart and William Smith Colleges; Mullsjö, Sweden: Institute of Social Research, 1951. 89 pp. No price indicated.

[AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY]. *Proceedings: Problems of Development of Densely Settled Areas and Scientific Possibilities for Increasing the World's Food Supply*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society (Volume 95, Number 1), 1951. 91 pp. \$1.00.

ANDERSON, W. A. *A Study of the Values in Rural Living: Part V, The Opinions of University Students*. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station (Memoir 302), 1950. 73 pp. No price indicated.

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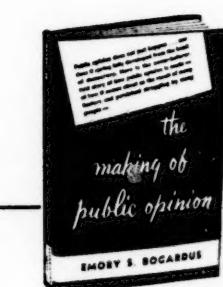
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